Wŏnhyo's Commentaries on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*

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Abbreviations

ABORI....................*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Poona)

AFM......................*The Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*

AFM-H....................Hakeda, Yoshito S., *The Awakening of Faith*

AFM-S....................Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro, *Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*

BB.......................*Bibliographie Bouddhique*

BDJ......................Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten*

BKD......................Ono Gemmyō, *Bussho Kaisetsu daijiten*

BMFJ.....................*Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise*

CE.......................Combined Edition (*Taesŭng kishinnon so ki hoebon*)

CHO......................Cho Myŏng-gi, *Silla pulgyo ŭi inyŏm kwa yŏksa*

DKK-M....................Mochizuki Shinkō, *Daijō kishin ron no kenkyū*

DKK-T....................Takemura Shōhō, *Daijō kishin ron kōdoku*

DK-U.....................Ui Hakuju, *Daijō kishin ron*

EN.......................Wŏnhyo, Expository Notes (*Taesŭng kishinnon pyŏlgi*)

HBS......................*Han'guk pulgyo sasangsa*

Hobo.....................*Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopedique de Bouddhisme d'apres les sources chinoises et japonaises*

HP-K.....................Kim Yŏng-t'ae, *Han'guk pulgyosa*

IBK.......................*Indogaku bukkyogaku kenkyū*

IHQ.......................*Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta)

JA........................*Journal Asiatique* (Paris)

JAOS......................*Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore)

JBORS.....................*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Patna)

K.........................*Koryŏ taejanggyŏng*

KSL.......................Chih-sheng, *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu*

Nara......................Ishida, ed., *Narachō genzai issaikyōso mokuroku*

Nj........................Nanjiō Bunyiu., *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*

OLZ.......................*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*

RC........................Wŏnhyo., Running Commentary (*Taesŭng kishinnonso*)

T.........................*Taishō shinshū daizōkyo*

WC........................Mok Chŏngbae et al, *Wŏnhyo Chŏnjip*

WKS.......................Lee Chong-ik, *Wŏnhyo ŭi kŭnbon sasang*

Z.........................*Dainihon zokuzōkyō*

Table of Contents

PART ONE

Preface

In contrast to, for example, the Christian canon and the Confucian canon, the Buddhist canon is unusually difficult to define, because the Buddhist scriptures are several thousands in number.[1] One who wishes to gain knowledge of this canon cannot be asked or expected to read all or even most of them, so the Buddhist who wishes to present the essence of the teaching to others is immediately faced with the problem of having to pick a representative text to serve as introduction, survey, summary or outline to this vast body of material. This problem is compounded, especially in East Asia, by the existence of many Buddhist schools, most of them having a particular text which served as their bases.[2] For example, the T'ien-t'ai school is based on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the Hua-yen school on the *Avataṃsaka--sūtra*, and so on. Accordingly, to choose a representative text from the several thousand Buddhist scriptures is unavoidably to come very close to accepting some sort of sectarian perspective. Thus, those who enquire after the essence of Buddhist teaching, yet who wish at the outset to avoid sectarian affiliation, will hesitate to approach the canon.

The problem is compounded even further by the existence of one influential school of Buddhism, the Zen (Ch'an) school, not a few of whose teachers have openly insisted on the harmfulness of reading the scriptures for those intent on achieving Enlightenment. For these teachers and their followers, the scriptures might just as well be burned as read.[3]

This is not simply a modern problem; it existed in sixth century China.[4] This was the period that saw the appearance of Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna (hereafter referred to as AFM). Once AFM appeared, it very quickly became popular. There seem to be two reasons for this: first, it satisfied the demand of people who wanted one volume that could comprehensively embrace all Buddhist doctrines; second, it is a non-sectarian text.[5] As a matter of fact, AFM was welcomed not only by non-sectarian people but by sectarian people as well. This occasioned another problem: members of some Buddhist sects who welcomed the appearance of AFM tried to use AFM to glorify their own sects. Many of the traditional commentators betrayed such tendencies, the most famous of these being Fa-tsang (643-712 A.D.), the third patriarch of the Hua-yen school in China.[6] One of his characteristic tactics was to anticipate the attack on his sectarian attitude by his opponents, the adherents of

the Fa-hsiang school,[7] by using the doctrine of AFM to justify what was specifically the Hua-yen doctrine.

Fa-tsang's commentaries on AFM exerted a strong influence on his own and succeeding generations, the result being that AFM has sometimes been considered a Hua-yen text.[8] This is certainly unfortunate. But it underscores the hermeneutical problem of how to read a text. Ui Hakuju, one of the most noted of modern Japanese Buddhologists, responded to this problem in his Daijō kishin ron by cautiously suggesting that the text be read apart from its commentaries in order that its real message be grasped.[9] This suggestion is valid only insofar as it screens out those commentaries, such as Fa-tsang's, which already bring a point of view to the text and read the text as confirming that point of view. If, however, the commentary is truly exegetical in nature, then Ui's suggestion is invalid since it cuts off a prospective medium by which one's understanding of the text may be deepened. The commentaries on AFM written by the Korean monk Wŏnhyo (617-686 A.D.) are such a medium.[10]

Wŏnhyo is regarded as one of the three great commentators on AFM; the other two are Hui-yüan (523-592 A.D.) and Fa-tsang (643-712 A.D.).[11] Wŏnhyo's commentaries are very different from Fa-tsang's: Wŏnhyo is emphatic in characterizing AFM as a text embodying a principle

by which all sectarian disputes may be harmonized. According to Wŏnhyo's understanding, if one interprets AFM as a sectarian teaching, one will betray the original intent of its author.[12] Unfortunately, in East Asia, including his home country of Korea, Wŏnhyo's commentaries are simply famous; they are not well-studied.[13] They have generally been neglected in favor of Fa-tsang's.

Wŏnhyo is, undoubtedly, one of the foremost thinkers that Korea has produced; he wrote much else besides his commentaries on AFM. Yet, although he influenced both Chinese and Japanese thinkers,[14] he is almost unknown in the West. This thesis represents a preliminary attempt at remedying this situation.

I. Introduction

AFM is sometimes referred to by its Sanskrit title Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda-śāstra, which was reconstructed from the Chinese title, Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun (大乘起信論); however, no Sanskrit version of the text has yet been discovered. In fact, no Indian text has mentioned even the name of the treatise. Moreover, no Tibetan translation exists, and no information about this treatise can be found from Tibetan sources, which are generally regarded as the best for information concerning the later Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist texts.[15]

There are two Chinese translations of AFM: the first is by Paramārtha in 550 A.D.; the second is by Śikṣānanda between 695 and 705 A.D. Most East Asian commentators, including Wŏnhyo, used the first translation.[16]

There have been five English translations of AFM. The first was D.T. Suzuki's in 1900 and the most recent is Yoshito Hakeda's in 1967. Of the three intervening translations, the two by Rev. Timothy Richards in 1907 and Ven. Wai-tao in 1937 are unreliable. The third, by Dr. Richard Robinson in 1960, is reliable but unpublished; it has been circulated only once among his friends and former students in mimeographed form.[17]

It is odd that D.T. Suzuki chose the relatively unpopular translation by Śikṣānanda for his translation rather than the much more popular one by Paramārtha. Had Suzuki chosen to translate Paramārtha's version of AFM, his translation would undoubtedly be read by many people even today. As things stand, Hakeda's translation, which like Richards', Wai-tao's and Robinson's was made from Paramārtha's version, is the most widely read. However, Hakeda's translation has failed to bring out the meaning of the text in many places. This point will be dealt with in the second section of Part One. The rest of this introduction will be devoted to a review of the authenticity debate surrounding AFM, an issue first raised by Mochizuki Shinkō in 1902.[18]

The colophon of the Taishō edition of AFM, which is found immediately after the title, purports to give us some historical information concerning the author and translator of the text.[19] It says,

馬鳴菩薩造 梁西印度
三藏法師 真諦譯

This may be translated:

> Written by Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa,
> translated during the Liang Dynasty
> by the Western Indian Tripiṭaka
> Dharma-master Paramārtha.

In his lifelong study of AFM, the Japanese Buddhologist Mochizuki Shinkō continually tried to prove the

falsity of the information about the author and translator as given by this colophon. Before entertaining Mochizuki's criticisms concerning the colophon, it would be best to review the previous traditional views about it.[20]

The earliest text of the colophon appears in the thirteenth century edition of the *Koryŏ Tripiṭaka*, which was used as the basis of the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*.[21] Sugi, the editor of the *Koryŏ Tripiṭaka*, was a very careful editor, but he did not mention anything about the colophon of *AFM* in the carefully written editorial record entitled *Koryŏguk shinjo Taejang kyojŏng pyŏllok* 高麗國新雕大藏校正別錄, or *Special Record of the Revisions of the Koryŏ Tripiṭaka*.[22]

The earliest record concerning the date of *AFM* is found in Fei Ch'ang-fang's catalogue entitled *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歷代三寶紀 , or *Chronological Record of the Buddhist Scriptures*. Fei's catalogue lists *AFM* as having been translated by Paramārtha in 550 A.D. at the residence of Lu Yüan-che, Fu-ch'un, China.[23] Fei Ch'ang-fang does not give the author's name. This does not mean, however, that Fei was skeptical about the identity of the author because Fei frequently failed to include author's names.[24] Another catalogue, *Fa-ching lu* or *Fa-ching's Catalogue*, which was presented to the Emperor Wen-ti of the Sui Dynasty in 594, also consis-

tently omits author's names.[25] Therefore, that these two catalogues do not mention Aśvaghoṣa as the author of AFM cannot count as evidence for disputing Aśvaghoṣa's authorship of AFM. In fact, it is much more reasonable to interpret their silence as a sign of their accepting Aśvaghoṣa's authorship, otherwise they would have indicated their doubts by placing AFM in the forged texts section of their catalogues. But they did not do so.

Fa-ching did, however, have doubts about Paramārtha's being the translator of AFM; thus he placed AFM in the doubtful texts section of his catalogue.[26] Fa-ching's reason is contained in the fifth volume of his Chung--ching mu-lu. It reads:

> Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna. People say it is Paramārtha's translation. I checked the catalogue of Paramārtha's translations but it does not have this treatise. Therefore, I have put this text in the doubtful treatise section.

The full Chinese title of the doubtful treatise section is Chung-lun i-hu fen 衆論疑惑分 , which means "section of all treatises which are doubtful." But, by putting AFM in this section Fa-ching demonstrated that he did not regard the treatise as a forgery, only that his investigations failed to uncover evidence to support the contention that Paramārtha was the translator; i.e., the Chen-ti lu 眞諦錄, or Catalogue of Paramārtha's

Translations, which Fa-ching consulted simply did not contain AFM. Otherwise, he would have included it in the section reserved for forged treatises, the Chung-lun i-wang fen 眾論偽妄分, or "section of all treatises which are forged."[27] Therefore, Fa-ching's action cannot be construed as a negative judgment upon the authenticity of AFM.

How accurate was the copy of the Chen-ti lu which Fa-ching consulted? There is absolutely no way to answer this question as no copies of the Chen-ti lu have survived.[28] But unless the quality of the Chen-ti lu which Fa-ching consulted is ascertained, one cannot count Fa-ching's record as evidence in the authenticity debate. In any case, Fa-ching's catalogue was compiled by Fa-ching and twenty other people within the space of one year.[29] Because it was completed in such a short space of time the cataloguers based much of their information on previous records without checking them against the actual texts involved. This last feature of the Chen-ti lu makes Fa-ching's doubts concerning Paramārtha's having translated AFM lose much of their force.

In addition to Fei Ch'ang-fang and Fa-ching, a number of distinguished Buddhist scholars in the sixth century, such as the earliest commentator on AFM, T'an-yen (516-588), the T'ien-t'ai master Chih-i (539-597), the She-lun

master T'an-ch'ien (542-607) and the San-lun master Chi--tsang (549-623), made reference to AFM.[30] Neither these scholars nor the three great commentators on AFM, Hui--yüan (523-592), Wǒnhyo (617-686) and Fa-tsang (643-712) doubted Aśvaghoṣa's authorship.[31] This being so, why did Mochizuki challenge their view?

According to Mochizuki, he himself had been an adherent of the traditional view and had blindly accepted the information contained in the colophon.[32] He renounced the traditional view on discovering that Fa-ching had placed AFM in the doubtful texts section of his catalogue. However, as indicated above, doubtful does not mean forged. Therefore, Mochizuki's reason is weak and unconvincing, and represents a careless reading of Fa-ching's catalogue.

Mochizuki's second reason revolves around the fact that different records give different dates for Paramārtha's translation. In the most voluminous of his books devoted to the authenticity question, Daijō kishin ron no kenkyū (A Study of the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna), Mochizuki points out that (1) Fei Ch'ang-fang gives 550 A.D. as the translation date, (2) Fa-ching doubts that Paramārtha was the translator altogether, (3) Yen-tsung's catalogue (602 A.D.) says that AFM was translated during the Ch'en Dynasty, i.e., between 557 and 589 A.D., (4) Chih-k'ai's preface says 554 A.D., (5) Fa-tsang gives

the same reign year as Chih-k'ai but gives a different cyclical year, (6) Chih-sheng says 553 A.D. These facts constitute Mochizuki's second reason for doubting the authenticity of AFM.[33] However, his argument is once again weak and unconvincing.

First of all, it is necessary to point out that the discrepancies between the dates given by Chih-k'ai, Fa--tsang and Chih-sheng center on the fact that the reign year Chih-k'ai gives as the translation date (554 A.D.) does not tally with the cyclical year he gives (癸酉). Fa-tsang kept Chih-k'ai's reign year but gave the cyclical year (甲戌) properly corresponding to that reign year; Chih-sheng kept Chih-k'ai's cyclical year but gave the reign year (553 A.D.) properly corresponding to that cyclical year. Thus the difference between Fa-tsang and Chih-sheng with respect to Chih-k'ai reflect nothing more than an attempt to correct Chih-k'ai's mistake; in that sense the differences among them are trivial.[34]

The differences among Fei-Ch'ang-fang, Yen-tsung and Chih-k'ai are less trivial. (Fa-ching's doubts have been discussed above). However, it is obvious that Chih-k'ai's preface is a forgery.[35] Thus, the date in the preface is unreliable. Second, Yen-tsung never explicitly stated that AFM was translated during the Ch'en Dynasty. Yen--tsung simply regarded Paramārtha as a Ch'en Dynasty monk.[36]

In fact, however, Paramārtha's career[37] spanned both the Liang and Ch'en Dynasties. Thus Yen-tsung's testimony cannot be used to date AFM. This leaves us with the date given by Fei Ch'ang-fang in his catalogue.

There is no good reason to doubt this date. Fei Ch'ang-fang's catalogue is innaccurate in some respects.[38] However, the information he gives about texts published around his own time are more reliable than anyone else's. Given this fact, and given the fact that the reason for the conflicting dates of translation can be explained, as has been shown, Mochizuki's doubts about the authorship of AFM may be regarded as groundless if based on the date issue.

Mochizuki's third reason is that the style and terminology of AFM are quite different from those of Paramārtha's other translations. Mochizuki points out that many elements found in AFM are not found from Indian texts, but imply a Chinese origin. Mochizuki also points out that, for example, whereas AFM uses the term hsiu to lo 修多羅 for sūtra, which was a favorite term of Daśabhūmika masters such as Bodhiruci, Paramārtha usually uses ching 経.[39] But this reason, too, is weak and unreflective.

First, it is well known that the early Chinese translators of Buddhist texts were not so faithful to the Sanskrit text that while translating they could not add to or deviate from the original, especially if they felt that by doing so the text would be better received. Thus, it is very conceivable that the elements in AFM which purportedly reflect Chinese views may have crept into AFM during the process of translation. Second, the Indian translators did not know Chinese well. Thus, they placed heavy reliance on their assistants who, however, did not know Sanskrit. As a result, a communication gap arose. When Paramārtha translated the AFM, he had been in China for only four years. Matters of terminology, style, even how best to present the doctrine in translating AFM were of necessity left in the hands of assistants. There is no evidence to suggest that Paramārtha used the same group of assistants for all his translations. Also, it is reasonable to suppose that as Paramārtha became more fluent in Chinese, he might have had a greater hand in choosing Chinese equivalents for Sanskrit terms. In this way, discrepancies between the style and terminology of AFM and those of Paramārtha's other translations can be explained.[40] Thus, here too, Mochizuki's argument is not compelling.

Mochizuki introduces various other reasons to support

his argument. We will not discuss them as they can be undermined as readily as the previous ones. However, we must examine Mochizuki's most serious attack on the authenticity of AFM. Mochizuki claimed that the AFM was a forgery because of its close resemblance to another famous forgery, the so-called Chan-ch'a shan-o yeh-pao-ching 占察善惡業報経 (hereafter referred to as Chan-ch'a ching), attributed to the translator Pu-ti-teng of the Sui Dynasty.[41] After a thorough comparison of AFM and Chan-ch'a ching, Mochizuki concludes that AFM is a later, revised version of it. It is true that the books are amazingly similar in many ways. For example, the topics, their order, and their explanation are almost exactly the same. However, Mochizuki's argument again lends itself to criticism.

Mochizuki claims that because AFM is so precise, refined and comprehensive, while Chan-ch'a ching is imprecise, rough and not comprehensive, the latter is obviously earlier, because a precise work cannot become imprecise. This argument is open to the following objection. Both AFM and Chan-ch'a ching were popular in China in the latter part of the sixth century. In 593 A.D. the government prohibited Chan-ch'a ching from being circulated because it propagated false teachings such as divination.[42] Therefore the catalogues of both

Fei Ch'ang-fang and Fa-ching treat Chan'ch'a ching as a forgery. So did Tao-hsüan and Chih-sheng.[43] These Buddhist cataloguers were all great scholars. Chih-sheng, especially, was brilliant and sensitive in distinguishing between forged and true scripture. But while he condemned Chan-ch'a ching as a forgery, he had nothing but praise for AFM. He even went so far as to criticize Fa-ching for having placed AFM in the doubtful texts section of his catalogue.[44] If, as Mochizuki pointed out, AFM and Chan-ch'a ching so closely resemble each other, then Chih-sheng showed a surprising ambivalence in his treatment of the two texts.

But on examining the present text of Chan-ch'a ching, one easily notices a difference between the first and second rolls. As a matter of fact, they resemble two completely different texts. There is no connection between them at all, for while the first roll is entirely devoted to divination, the second roll closely resembles AFM. But a question immediately arises as to why Fei Ch'ang--fang, Fa-ching, Tao-hsüan and Chih-sheng failed to point out this striking difference between the first and second rolls. The most plausible explanation is that the contents of the second roll of Chan-ch'a ching did not resemble AFM until after Chih-sheng's time; i.e., the original second roll was replaced by the second roll in its present form.

Why this happened we do not know. However, it would explain why Fei Ch'ang-fang, Fa-ching, Tao-hsüan and Chih-sheng, who were otherwise so keen, should all have failed, first, to comment on the difference between the first and second rolls of Chan-ch'a ching and second, to explain why they considered the Chan-ch'a ching forged and AFM not, if the second roll of the former so resembled the latter. Although ours is admittedly an argument of probability, still, it is more probable than Mochizuki's.

Mochizuki's way of arguing reveals much about his way of thinking. Apparently, Mochizuki and his followers began by doubting the information contained in the colophon of the text. Why did they doubt it, when traditional scholars did not? Perhaps, as Ui Hakuju somewhat cynically pointed out, it was because of arrogance.[45] They contemptuously looked down upon the traditional scholars as being ignorant of the history of Buddhist doctrine, for it is impossible that Aśvaghoṣa, who lived before Nāgārjuna (c. 150-250 A.D.), should have taught the Tathāgatagarbha theory, which did not appear until after Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu (320-400 A.D.). But one cannot help asking why Mochizuki could not entertain the possibility that the author of AFM was another Aśvaghoṣa, who lived after Vasubandhu. This is what Wŏnhyo apparently assumed. Mochizuki rejects this possibility by saying

that he had not seen any records telliing of the existence of another Aśvaghoṣa. If, Mochizuki continued, another Aśvaghoṣa, who was the author of AFM, existed, then there should be some record of such a great master.[46]

This assumption, which Mochizuki held, is totally untenable. Indeed, Ui Hakuju's criticism of Mochizuki's scholarship is really pertinent here. Ui held that it is really arrogant and non-Buddhistic[47] to think that the Aśvaghoṣa mentioned in the colophon must be someone about whom there is already some information. As it is, according to Mochizuki's way of thinking, Aśvaghoṣa could not have been the author of AFM.

Unfortunately, Mochizuki's long journey of AFM studies began with this assumption. That is, his conclusions were not the result of his research; rather, he made his research serve to justify his mistaken assumption. But the information contained in historical records such as the colophon of AFM cannot be vitiated simply by hypothesis or assumption.

As a result of the furor that Mochizuki caused, today no scholar believes that the Aśvaghoṣa mentioned in the colophon as the author of AFM indicates the Aśvaghoṣa who wrote the Buddhacarita, or The Life of Buddha.[48] Thus, all the traditional accounts about Asvaghoṣa are not held to be about the Aśvaghoṣa who is the author of AFM.

But so long as one cannot prove the falsity of the information given in the colophon, one cannot deny the Indian origin of AFM. Accordingly, Ui Hakuju gave the period between 420 and 500 A.D. as the period in which the Aśvaghoṣa who wrote AFM probably flourished, as he must be dated after Vasubandhu (320-400 A.D.) but before Paramārtha's arrival in China in 546 A.D.[49]

II. The Essence of the *Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun*

1

If one translates "*Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun*" 大乘起信論 as "Treatise" or "Discourse" on the "Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna," as previous translators have done,[50] one question immediately presents itself: Can *ta-ch'eng*, or "Mahāyāna," really be the object of *ch'i-hsin*, or "awakening faith," as the English translation implies? This question requires a lengthy discussion before an answer may be reached because the question involves the Buddhist concept of faith about which Buddhists themselves sometimes disagree.[51] In fact, sometimes a single individual will experience the meaning of faith differently according to his degree of practice. But no matter how complex this subject is, one cannot escape confronting this question so long as one is dealing with the Buddhist conception of faith, as *AFM* is.[52] Therefore, we must point out that in taking *ta-ch'eng* 大乘 as the object of *ch'i-hsin* 起信, that is, in taking Mahāyāna as the object of Buddhist faith, one runs the grave risk of misleading the English reader as to what Buddhist faith really is.

Our criterion for examining the correctness of the previous English translations will be the text itself, as well as the commentaries on it. Let us begin by noting

that in classical Chinese rarely does a verb follow its object except in poetry, in which case rules of grammar are often neglected. Therefore, the most likely relationship between ta-ch'eng and ch'i-hsin is not that of a verbal phrase (ch'i-hsin) and its object (ta-ch'eng) but rather that of a qualifier (ta-ch'eng) and that which it qualifies (ch'i-hsin). According to this understanding of the title, the English translation of it would be Treatise on Awakening Mahāyāna Faith. The invocation with which the treatise begins immediately supports this understanding as its last line reads "ch'i ta-ch'eng cheng-hsin 起大乘正信 " or "awakening right Mahāyāna faith."[53] This line is again immediately followed by one like it, namely "yu-fa neng-ch'i mo-ho-yen hsin-ken 有法能起摩訶衍信根 "--"there is a principle which can arouse the root of Mahāyāna faith."[54] In these two lines the term "Mahāyāna" functions grammatically simply to qualify "faith;" there is not the slightest chance that "Mahāyāna" is to be taken as the object of "faith." Yet, all English translations, from D.T. Suzuki's to Yoshito Hakeda's, have "Mahāyāna" as the object of "faith."

The following are the various renditions of the two passages in question (T. 1666, p. 575b, lines 15-16). (D.T. Suzuki translated these two parallel passages from the T. 1667 version of the text: "ch'i-hsin 起信 " (p. 584a,

line 28) and "wei-yu fa-ch'i ta-ch'eng ching-hsin 為欲發起大乘淨信" (p. 584a, line 29)).

D.T. Suzuki:

"...by the awakening of faith..." (line 28)

"For the purpose of awakening...
a pure faith in the Mahāyāna..." (line 29)

Timothy Richards:

"get Faith in the Great School..." (line 15)

(no translation for line 16)

Wei Tao:

"by the Awakening of their Faith
in the Mahayana..." (line 15)

"...there is a way in which faith
in the Mahayana can be developed..." (line 16)

The Shrine of Wisdom:

"And faith in Mahāyāna cause the
Soul..." (line 15)

(no translation for line 16)

Y. Hakeda:

"...to give rise to the correct faith
in the Mahayana..." (line 15)

"There is a teaching (dharma) which
can awaken in us the root of faith
in the Mahayana..." (line 16)

R. Robinson:

"to awaken true faith in the Mahāyāna..."
(line 15)

"There is a dharma that can arouse the
roots of faith in the Mahāyāna..." (line 16)

But neither here nor anywhere else in the text is "Mahāyāna" in fact the object of "faith." Therefore, one must investigate why all of the previous translations render the passage so as to violate classical Chinese grammar and make "Mahāyāna" the object of "faith."

The first to render "Mahāyāna" the object of "faith" in translating AFM into English was the famous pioneering Buddhist scholar, D.T. Suzuki. Apparently Suzuki had difficulty in trying to introduce the Buddhist notion of faith to English readers. Even though there can be no doubt about the depth of Suzuki's understanding of Buddhist faith, as evinced throughout his many works on Buddhism, yet when he translated "ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin" into English, he compromised too much with the western notion of faith in which faith requires an object, as instanced, for example, in the formula "I believe in God." When Suzuki translated the title of the poem Hsin-hsin ming[55] 信心銘 as On Believing in Mind,[56] he persisted in making "faith" (here, "believing") have an object. In the Hsin-hsin ming the term hsin-hsin appears three times: once in the title[57] and twice at the end[58]. Suzuki shows surprising ambivalence in translating hsin-hsin. In the title, as we have seen, he renders it "believing in mind," whereas at the end of the text he renders it as "Mind and each believing mind" and (what amounts to the same

thing) "each believing mind and Mind:"

> <u>hsin-hsin</u> <u>pu-erh</u> 信心不二
> "Where Mind and each believing mind are not divided."
>
> <u>pu-erh</u> <u>hsin-hsin</u> 不二信心
> "And undivided are each believing mind and Mind."

But in this poem the term <u>hsin-hsin</u> means simply "faith." It does not mean "believing in mind," and it certainly does not mean "Mind and each believing mind." In other words, <u>hsin</u>心 or "mind" does not serve as the object of <u>hsin</u>信 or "to believe." If one takes "mind" to be the object of "to believe" one completely misses the key point running throughout this poem, namely, that it is an error to admit any kind of duality in the practice of Buddhist faith.

2

The question as to whether or not Mahāyāna functions as the object of faith in <u>AFM</u> cannot be successfully resolved simply within the realm of grammatical investigation; it is necessary to know what is meant by faith in the text itself. In <u>AFM</u> the term <u>hsin</u>信 is used fifty-four times: four times in the Invocation; three times in the first chapter; twenty-two times in the third chapter; eighteen times in the fourth chapter; seven times in the last chapter. It does not occur at all in the second chapter. In order to examine in what senses the term

hsin 信 is used in each case, we have excerpted all the phrases and sentences in which *hsin* 信 occurs as follows:[59]

A. In the Invocation

1. 大乘起信論 (p. 575b, line 7)
2. 大乘起信論 (ibid., line 15)
3. 有法能起摩訶衍信根 (ibid., line 16)
4. 修行信心分 (ibid., line 18)

B. In the first chapter

5. 為令善根成熟衆生於摩訶衍法堪任不退信故 (p. 575b, lines 25-27)
6. 為令善根微少衆生修習信心故 (p. 575b, line 27 - p. 575c, line 1)
7. 生於佛前必定不退信心故 (p. 575c, line 4)

C. In the third chapter

8. 從初正信發心觀察 (p. 577b, line 29 - p. 577c, line 1)
9. 依二乘解脫及信相應地遠離故 (p. 577c, line 8)
10. 依信相應地修學方便漸漸能捨 (ibid., lines 9-10)
11. 從信相應地觀察學斷 (ibid., lines 15-16)
12. 自信己性知心妄動無前境界 (p. 578b, line 10)
13. 自信己身有眞如法 (ibid., lines 23-24)
14. 云何有信無信 (ibid., line 26)

15. 云何有信無信 (ibid., line 26)

16. 信有涅槃修習善根 (p. 578c, lines 12-13)

17. 依信力故而能修行 (p. 599a, lines 2-3)

18. 以深信眞如法故少分而見 (p. 579c, lines 4-5)

19. 信成就發心 (p. 580b, line 17)

20. 信成就發心者 (ibid., line 18)

21. 信成就堪任發心 (ibid., line 19)

22. 信業果報能起十善 (ibid., lines 20-21)

23. 修行信心 (ibid., line 21)

24. 経一萬劫信心成就故(ibid., lines 21-22)

25. 如是信心成就得發心者 (ibid., line 25)

26. 復次信成就發心者 (p. 580c, line 6)

27. 以愛敬三寶淳厚心故信得增長 (ibid., line 27)

28. 以信知一切法從本已來自涅槃故 (p. 581a, line 16)

29. 以是菩薩從初正信已來 (ibid., lines 17-18)

D. <u>In the fourth chapter</u>

30. 修行信心分 (p. 581c, line 6)

31. 修行信心分 (ibid., line 7)

32. 何等信心 云何修行 (ibid., line 8)

33. 信心有四種 (ibid., line 8)

34. 信根本 (ibid., line 9)

35. 信佛有無量功德 (ibid., line 10)

36. 信法有大利益 (ibid., lines 11-12)

37. 信僧能正修行 自利利他 (ibid., lines 12-13)

38. 修行有五門 能成此信 (ibid., line 14)

39. 若人雖修行信心 (p. 582a, line 6)

40. 深伏煩惱 信心增長速成不退 (ibid.,lines 26-27)

41. 唯除疑惑不信 (ibid., line 27)

42. 生於不信 多疑多慮 (p. 582b, line 15)

43. 於如來境界 信得增長 (p. 582c, lines 7-8)

44. 欲求正信 其心怯弱 (p. 583a, line 12)

45. 信心難可成就 (ibid., line 14)

46. 攝護信心 (ibid., line 15)

47. 修行信心分 (ibid., line 21)

48. 欲於如來甚深境界 得生正信 (ibid., line 24)

49. 其有眾生 於此論中 毀謗不信 (p. 583b, lines 6-7)

50. 是故眾生 但應仰信 不應誹謗 (ibid., line 8)

51. 過去菩薩已依此法 得成淨信 (ibid., lines 11-12)

52. 現在菩薩今依此法得成淨信 (ibid., line 12)

53. 未來菩薩當依此法得成淨信
(ibid., line 13)

54. 大乘起信論(ibid., line 17)

In these fifty-four instances of its use, *hsin* 信 is used as a transitive verb requiring an object only twelve times; in the remainder of its occurrences (forty-two), *hsin* 信 is used as a noun not requiring, of course, an object.

The twelve instances in which *hsin* 信 is used as a transitive verb are as follows:

1. in the 12th case, where the object is *chi-hsing* or "the self-nature;"
2. in the 13th case, where the object is the fact that "there is the principle of Suchness in one's own body;"
3. in the 16th case, where the object is the fact that "there is nirvāṇa;"
4. in the 18th case, where the object is *chen-ju-fa* or "the principle of Suchness;"
5. in the 22nd case, where the object is the fact that "there is reward in terms of the principle of karma;"
6. in the 28th case, where the object is the fact that "from the beginning all things are of themselves in nirvāṇa;"

7. in the 34th case, where the object is <u>ken-pen</u> or "the Ultimate Source;"
8. in the 35th case, where the object is the fact that "the Buddha has immeasurable merits;"
9. in the 36th case, where the object is the fact that "the Dharma brings great benefits;"
10. in the 37th case, where the object is the fact that "the Saṅgha is able to practice correctly the ideal of benefitting both the self and others;"
11. in the 49th case, where the object is "the teaching which is expounded in the treatise;"
12. in the 50th case, where the object is "the teaching which is expounded in the treatise."

In nine of these twelve cases (nos. 13, 16, 22, 28, 35, 36, 37, 49, 50), <u>hsin</u>信 has a noun clause as its object; in the remaining three cases (nos. 12, 18, 34), <u>hsin</u>信 has a simple noun as its object. What is the difference between these two categories?

The noun clauses which function as objects in the first category all have a common feature unique to them, namely, they all contain explanatory teachings about the Buddhist truth. Thus, the nature of the object in those cases is something to be realized rather than something simply to be believed in. In the second category, however, the simple nouns functioning as objects do seem to

be something to be believed in. Let us now carefully examine what is meant by hsin 信 in the three cases falling into this category.

First, in the twelfth case, it is obvious that the stage at which an individual comes to believe in his "self-nature" precedes the stage at which he comes to know the doctrine of Mind-only and the non-existence of an objective external world; this in turn precedes the stage at which an individual begins to practice the teachings to free himself from illusion. Here what is believed in is a teaching that one's original nature is the Buddha-nature. Therefore, hsin 信 here means to accept a Buddhist proposition which is to be fully understood at the next stage.

Secondly, in the eighteenth case, the object of faith is exactly the same proposition as in the twelfth case: believing that one's original nature is Suchness itself. Therefore, it may be said that the meaning of hsin 信 in the preceding two cases is not a faith requiring an object; rather, it is related to the knowledge of something.

Finally, in the thirty-fourth case, the text says precisely that to believe in the Ultimate Source means to be joyously mindful of the principle of Suchness. Thus, no difference exists in the nature of the object of hsin 信 in any of these three cases.

A conclusion may now be reached as to the nature of

hsin 信 and its objects when used as a transitive verb, namely, that the nature of faith in all twelve cases is that of assent to a propositional truth.

This conclusion is supported by Wŏnhyo.[60] When Wŏnhyo comments on the three passages discussed above he clearly states that the faith discussed in them belongs to the earliest, beginner's stage, which is only a prelude to the next stage, that of understanding and practice. As the title of AFM suggests, one of the most important issues it will raise is the issue of faith. Chapter Four of the text, "On Practicing Faith," is the chapter devoted to faith and practice, but the meaning of faith in this chapter and in the title are different.

Before examining this difference two things must be kept in mind about the nature of Chapter Four. First, this chapter was written for the sake of people who have not yet definitely resolved to pursue the truth. Second, the primary purpose of this chapter is to instruct the reader in how to practice in order to enter the path of correct truth; its primary purpose is not to discuss what faith is.

The first sentence of Chapter Four supports our first point:

> In this chapter practicing faith will be discussed for the sake of people who have not yet definitely resolved to pursue the truth.[61]

Only seven other lines in Chapter Four mention faith from a total of one hundred thirty-two lines which are mainly devoted to the discussion of practice. Moreover, these seven lines only enumerate the various kinds of faith for making clear the goal of practice and for characterizing the nature of Buddhist practice; they do not discuss the nature of faith. Therefore, (1) Ultimate Source, (2) Buddha, (3) Dharma, and (4) Saṅgha, which are usually regarded as the objects of faith in this chapter, function not as the objects of faith but as the subjects of the noun clauses of which they form a part. It is these noun clauses which function as the object of faith, and not (1) Ultimate Source, (2) Buddha, (3) Dharma, and (4) Saṅgha, the subjects of each noun clause. But if these noun clauses are the object of faith (hsin 信), then the meaning of hsin 信 in these contexts must be to believe in such and such a proposition.

Our second point becomes quite clear on considering the title of Chapter Four, hsiu-hsing hsin-hsin fen 修行信心分, which is most smoothly translated as "On Practicing Faith." To translate it as "On Faith and Practice," as some earlier translators[62] have done, may mislead one to confuse the meaning of faith in Chapter Four with its meaning in the title of the text.

3

If one maintains the position that the term "Mahāyāna" never functions as the object of "faith" in *AFM*, and furthermore, that Buddhist faith has no object at all, then one is in the position of having to resolve an apparent contradiction between that position and the fact that the theory of four faiths found in Chapter Four of *AFM* seems to imply that Suchness, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha are objects of faith. However, there is here no contradiction at all because the meaning of faith in Chapter Four is not the same as its meaning in the title.

Chapter Four is usually considered to be the chapter on faith and practice, but a careful reading of that chapter shows that it does not discuss faith; rather it discusses practice for the sake of people who do not yet have faith and so have not yet decided to practice Buddhism. This is immediately apparent from the first line of the chapter which reads: "Here, for the sake of people who are still *aniyata rāśi* (未入正定聚衆生), how to practice faith is discussed."[63] In reading Chapter Four one should bear this line in mind; otherwise, many misunderstandings may arise, one of which is that Chapter Four represents a discussion of the faith referred to in the title of the text, *Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun*. What, then, is the faith of people who are still *aniyata rāśi*?

According to D.T. Suzuki's understanding,[64] *aniyata rāśi* are people who have not yet entered into the "order

of constant truth" (正定聚). That is, the aniyata rāśi are the opposite of the niyata rāśi, or those who have already perfected their faith and for whom there is no longer any fear of backsliding into non-faith. On the other hand, the faith of the aniyata rāśi is an uncertain kind of faith in which there is always a possibility of backsliding. Thus the four faiths mentioned in Chapter Four are proposed simply for the sake of the practice of the aniyata rāśi, through which they can strengthen their faith and eventually become niyata rāśi.

In reading Chapter Four, one should bear in mind two things about the four faiths mentioned in that chapter: first, the objects of all the four faiths are propositional statements to which the aniyata rāśi must initially give their assent in order that they be able to begin practicing; second, each proposition is paraphrased so that the aniyata rāśi may clearly perceive what each proposition means in terms of practicing faith. These paraphrases taken together read like a manual for practicing faith. In light of the foregoing observations about the nature of Chapter Four, Hakeda's translation is really misleading.

Concerning the first faith Hakeda translates:

> The first is the faith in the Ultimate Source. Because [of this faith] a man comes to meditate with joy on the principle of Suchness.[65]

Hakeda regards the idea expressed in the second sentence as being the result of the first faith. D.T. Suzuki, however, translates this passage as follows:

> As to faith in general: (1) To believe in the fundamental truth, that is, to think joyfully of Suchness (bhūtatathatā)[66]

If one compares the part of the sentence beginning "that is" in Suzuki's translation with the sentence beginning "because" in Hakeda's translation it should readily be apparent that Suzuki's translation supports our contention that the author of AFM was concerned to paraphrase each proposition of faith so that how to practice faith would be made clear. But both Suzuki and Hakeda fail to make clear that "to believe in the fundamental truth" (or to have "faith in the Ultimate Source") is a proposition to which assent must be given. In other words, "to believe in the fundamental truth" is, in this context, nothing but "to assent to the fact that Suchness is within me." Therefore, even the aniyata rāśi are able to enjoy being mindful of the principle of Suchness if Suchness is always with them.

Both Suzuki and Hakeda enjoy giving lengthy footnotes whenever they see fit. Unfortunately, they did not see fit to draw their readers' attention to the dynamics of the author's presentation of faith in Chapter Four of AFM.

In contrast to these modern interpreters, traditional commentators always made this very clear.[67]

Hakeda's translation concerning the second, third and fourth faiths suffers from exactly the same problem as his translation concerning the first faith. Suzuki's translation continues to support our contention. Concerning the second, third and fourth faiths Hakeda translates,

> The second is the faith in the numberless excellent qualities of the Buddhas. Because [of this faith] a man comes to meditate on them always, to draw near to them in fellowship, to honor them, and to respect them, developing his capacity for goodness and seeking after the all-embracing knowledge. The third is the faith in the great benefits of the Dharma (Teaching). Because [of this faith] a man comes constantly to remember and practice various disciplines leading to enlightenment. The fourth is the faith in the Sangha (Buddhist Community) whose members are able to devote themselves to the practice of benefitting both themselves and others. Because [of this faith] a man comes to approach the assembly of Bodhisattvas constantly and with joy and to seek instruction from them in the correct practice.[68]

In Hakeda's understanding, "the numberless excellent qualities of the Buddhas," "the great benefits of the Dharma," and "the Sangha" are the objects of "faith." As a result of these faiths, people are able to meditate on the Buddhas, practice the various dharmas, and approach the Saṅgha. If, however, these things result from faith, as Hakeda would have it, and if this is the meaning that

Chapter Four intended originally to convey, then it is very difficult to answer the question, How can I have this faith? But the inability to answer this question belies the opening remark of Chapter Four: "Here, for the sake of people who are still aniyata rāśi, how to practice faith is discussed." That is, can it be a reasonable answer to people asking how they can have faith to show only the result of having faith? Then Chapter Four would be nothing more than bait. However, it is highly unlikely that faith, or practice based on that faith, can successfully be awakened by bait. The question, How can I have this faith? must remain unanswered so long as one understands Chapter Four as Hakeda does. The only way to obviate this question and make the chapter meaningful in the context of the whole text is to retranslate the first part of the chapter, which is the part having to do with faith, based on the understanding we have developed so far. This is our translation of the first part of Chapter Four, which discusses the four faiths:

> Briefly speaking, there are four faiths. What are the four? The first is to believe in the Ultimate Source, in other words [so wei 所 謂], to be mindful, with the utmost willingness, of the principle of Suchness. The second is to believe that the Buddha has innumerable excellent virtues, in other words, to think always of being close to the Buddha, to make offerings to him, and to respect him. Furthermore, it means to awaken the capacity for goodness, which

> is wishing to have the omniscience that the Buddha has. The third is to believe that the Dharma is the source of great benefits, in other words, to think always of practicing all the perfections [pāramitās]. The fourth is to believe that the Saṅgha is able to correctly practice the Mahāyāna ideal of benefitting both oneself and others, in other words, to rejoice always in being close to the assembly of Bodhisattvas and to pursue genuine practice as it does.

Our retranslation shows that in Chapter Four faith is always presented in terms of that which the aniyata rāśi should keep in mind and in terms of that which they should do. However, Chapter Four has not yet guaranteed that the aniyata rāśi will be able to maintain that faith, because that faith is still nothing more than intellectual assent to the truths contained in those propositions. Although intellectual assent is emphasized in Buddhism as the first step in pursuing the Buddhist way, at the same time mere intellectual assent is condemned as a very cunning betrayal of the truths of Buddhism unless it is supported by the practice of the pāramitās (perfections). This is the reason why the rest of Chapter Four, more than nine-tenths of the chapter, is devoted to the discussion of practice, mainly, to the pāramitās.[69]

4

If one carefully examines the structure of AFM as a whole, one easily discerns that that text describes three

types of faith: the first type is seen throughout its first, second and third chapters, and includes the "faith" of the title of the text; the second type is seen at the beginning of Chapter Four, a discussion of which has occupied us above; the third type is seen at the end of Chapter Four and is the faith in Amitabha Buddha.[70] It is interesting to note the author's systematic arrangement whereby each type of faith receives a fair representation in the text in order to aid people of differing mental capacities. "Mental capacity" here does not mean intellectual capacity; it means the degree of receptivity to a religious teaching or principle. We use the adjective "mental" merely for the sake of convenience, but avoid the equally convenient "spiritual" because that term implies a closer connection between that to which we are here referring and that which is often designated "spirituality" in the West than the facts of Buddhist faith and practice warrant.

In AFM the author first discusses "utmost right faith" (正信) without any consideration of people's differing mental capacities. This discussion occupies the greater part of the text. Next, for those unable to grasp the first type of faith, i.e., the aniyata rasi, the author presents the second type of faith, which is elaborated in the famous four faiths and five practices theory in Chapter

Four. Finally for those unable to practice even the second type of faith, the author suggests nien-fo (念佛) or the recitation of the name of Amitābha Buddha, which enables birth in the Pure Land to take place. Backsliding in faith will never happen in the Pure Land because of the complete protection that Amitābha Buddha proffers.[71] It is very ironic that in the later development of Chinese Buddhism, after the appearance of AFM in China in the sixth century A.D., the first type of faith never really became popular; instead, the third type became more and more popular as time went on. Surprisingly, this led even Ch'an Buddhists to recite the name of Amitābha Buddha as part of their daily service.[72] Even more surprisingly, however, the first type of faith dealt with in AFM is now, in the twentieth century, being represented to the West as being of the same type as the third type of faith, without the confusion this involves having been pointed out.

If the second type of faith dealt with in AFM, the type of faith dealt with at the beginning of Chapter Four, may be characterized as assensus,[73] or assent, then the third type of faith, reciting the name of Amitābha Buddha, may be characterized as fiducia,[74] or trust or loyalty. But the first type of faith, with which the first three chapters are mainly concerned, may be characterized neither

as assensus nor as fiducia. This is because in the context of AFM both assensus and fiducia are possible only in the case of the aniyata rāśi. With respect to the niyata rāśi the question of faith is no longer raised; instead, the problem of producing Buddha mind, or citta-utpāda (fa-hsin 發心), is mostly discussed. According to the last section of Chapter Three there are three kinds of citta-utpada:[75]

(1) mind produced after the perfection of faith;

(2) mind produced while practicing the six pāramitās after the right understanding of dharma nature has been gained;

(3) mind produced in perfect Enlightenment.

A careful examination of citta-utpada is beyond our present concern, but since the last section of Chapter Three may be viewed as concluding the discussion of the first type of faith, one thing at least must be pointed out: according to the text, citta-utpada is possible only when one has perfected one's faith after practicing for ten thousand kalpas (aeons).[76] The text warns that citta-utpada attained before completing a ten thousand kalpas long practice is not genuine, as faith has not then been perfected.[77] One with such faith is still to be considered as being among the aniyata rāśi.

We must now raise the most critical questions concerning faith in AFM: Why is it necessary to wait a full ten

thousand kalpas to perfect faith? And why does the term hsin-hsin 信心, or faith, become fa-hsin 發心 (citta-utpada), or producing Buddha mind? Is there no internal connection among hsin-hsin (信心), ten thousand kalpas long practice, and fa-hsin (發心)? These questions would already have been answered except that the significance of the ten thousand kalpas long practice required for the transformation of hsin-hsin into fa-hsin remains obscure.

The problem is not simply with the astronomical length of time needed for producing Buddha mind, but with the requirement that no less than this length of time is needed. However, from this statement of the author one perceives that the nature of fa-hsin differs radically from that of hsin-hsin. That is, in saying "ten thousand kalpas long practice" the author is emphasizing the kind of difference existing between fa-hsin and hsin-hsin. Fa-hsin is realized after the perfection of hsin-hsin, but fa-hsin is not simply an extension of hsin-hsin. Instead, one may characterize the change from hsin-hsin to fa-hsin as a metamorphosis.[78]

Usually the term hsin-hsin or "faith" is used of the aniyata rāśi, in whose case faith is characterized as being the product of the intellect and needing no special effort to achieve. But because of this very fact such

faith can easily be abandoned, whereas the faith of the niyata rāśi is characterized as never in danger of being abandoned because of its being a metamorphosis from a dualistic consciousness to a non-dualistic one.[79] It may be said without exaggeration that the author of AFM devotes every line, from the title to the end, to clarifying the nature of this metamorphosis and the nature of non-dualistic consciousness. Indeed, the ch'i-hsin (awakening faith) of the title denotes nothing but the achievement of that metamorphosis while ta-ch'eng (Mahāyāna) means non-dualistic consciousness. In other words, the realization of non-duality is the key issue of AFM.[80]

We are now in a position to answer the question raised at the beginning of this discussion: Can ta-ch'eng, or "Mahāyāna," really be the object of ch'i-hsin, or "awakening faith?" First, by making ta-ch'eng the object of ch'i-hsin, the key issue of the text, the realization of non-duality, is totally missed. Establishing a distinction between faith and its object is totally alien to the meaning of non-duality. Secondly, ch'i-hsin ("awakening faith") characterizes the metamorphosis from hsin-hsin to fa-hsin. Therefore, it describes a process, a moving from one kind of faith to another kind of faith; it does not describe the awakening of one kind of faith. Thus, to translate ch'i-hsin as "the awakening of faith" is misleading. Our

own proposal is to translate *Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun* as *Treatise on Awakening Mahāyāna Faith*, bearing in mind that (1) the "awakening" is a process or movement from the mind of the *aniyata rāśi* to the mind of the *niyata rāśi*, (2) that "Mahāyāna" means non-dualistic consciousness, and (3) that "faith" (*hsin*) is first the *hsin* (心) of *hsin-hsin* (信心) and then the *hsin* (心) of *fa-hsin* (發心). The movement from *hsin-hsin* to *fa-hsin* is the meaning of "awakening" and, at the same time, it is the meaning of non-dualistic consciousness, or "Mahāyāna."[81]

III. Biography of Wŏnhyo

Wŏnhyo (617-686 A.D.) is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, religious figures that Korea has ever had. According to Wŏnhyo's biographers, Wŏnhyo was an extremely complex figure whose career repeatedly underwent radical changes. At first he was a member of <u>Hwarang</u>, a type of youth group active during the Silla Dynasty (57-935 A.D.). Later he became a Buddhist monk. While still a monk he fought in the war of unification. Finally, he returned to secular existence after the birth of a son, Sol Ch'ong, who is considered the founder of Confucianism in Korea. In terms of his denominational affiliations, Wŏnhyo began as a Hua-yen scholar, but because of his liberal attitude he did not remain within the Hua-yen sect. Consequently, he has left excellent works not only on Hua-yen thought, but on almost every other aspect of Buddhist philosophy as well.[82]

The following is a critical examination of some key events in Wŏnhyo's career as reported by his two earliest biographers, Tsan-ning[83] and Iryŏn[84], which attempts to pierce the veil of legend which has attached to this famous figure and elicit the historical dimensions of these events. It is, therefore, an attempt to demythologize

the traditional Wŏnhyo and reconstruct a more accurate portrait of his life using not only the traditional information about him but also other known historical facts.

It is rather surprising that there is so much biographical material about Wŏnhyo, who lived in the early seventh century. The earliest record about him is the Kosŏnsa Sŏdang Hwasang t'appi 高仙寺誓幢和上塔碑, or "The Inscription of Sŏdang Hwasang in Kosŏn Monastery."[85] Allegedly, this inscription was composed approximately one hundred years after Wŏnhyo's death in 686 A.D.[86] It remained unknown until it was discovered in a stream at Kyŏngju, Korea, in 1914. Unfortunately, when discovered, it was in several fragments with many illegible characters. Many scholars have tried to read the fragments,[87] but so far no one has been able to reconstruct the inscription except imperfectly. Thus, the best biographical sources about Wŏnhyo are still these two records,[88] which have always been esteemed by traditional scholars:

(1) Tsan-ning 贊寧, "T'ang Hsin-lo-kuo Huang-lung-ssu Yüan-hsiao chuan" 唐新羅國黃龍寺元曉傳, included in the fourth roll of his Sung Kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳,[89] which was presented to the emperor T'ai-tsung in 988 A.D.[90]

(2) Iryŏn 一然 (1206-1289 A.D.), "Wŏnhyo pulgi" 元曉不羈, included in the fourth roll of his Samguk yusa 三國遺事.[91]

Tsan-ning's Sung Kao-seng chuan was written three hundred years after Wŏnhyo's death while Iryŏn's Samguk yusa was written almost another three hundred years after the completion of the Sung Kao-seng chuan. The two records are quite different from each other: Tsan-ning includes many miraculous, legendary stories about Wŏnhyo whereas Iryŏn does not.[92] However, they both fail in situating Wŏnhyo in relation to the history of Korean Buddhism. Such an a-historical approach to a historical figure, as shown in the work of both Tsan-ning and Iryŏn, exerted a detrimental influence on succeeding biographies in that the lives of almost all the major figures of Korean Buddhism lost their historicity; instead, their greatness was described through the use of fantastic, miraculous stories. Therefore, in order to form a correct impression of Wŏnhyo's life, one must evaluate the stories transmitted through these traditional biographies. The following three stories, which most excite the reader, especially deserve to be examined.

The first story: Wŏnhyo wanted to study Yogācāra doctrine under the guidance of Hsüan-tsang. He set off on a journey to China but at the border he gave up the attempt and returned home.[93]

The second story: Wŏnhyo broke the precept preventing a monk's having sexual relations and fathered a son,

Sŏl Ch'ong, who, it is said, became the founder of Korean Confucianism. After the birth of Sŏl Ch'ong Wŏnhyo took off the monk's robe and became a layman.[94]

The third story: After becoming a layman, Wŏnhyo wandered all over the country dancing and singing a song he had composed. The song was called Muaega 無礙歌, or "Song of Non-Hindrance."[95]

On the first story: Wŏnhyo's Enlightenment Experience.

In Wŏnhyo's day it was a common dream of ambitious young men to visit T'ang China, the cultural center of the day, and study there. But when Wŏnhyo set out to visit China he was almost fifty and no longer a young man;[96] hence, he must have had a serious reason for going there. According to Yong-tae Kim's History of Korean Buddhism, this was not Wŏnhyo's first attempt. But Wŏnhyo gave it up and returned home while his friend, Ŭisang (625-702),[97] continued and later became the founder of the Korean Hua--yen school. What made Wŏnhyo return?

The records say that Wŏnhyo returned on attaining Enlightenment after spending the night in a tomb while waiting for a ship to take him to China. Having attained Enlightenment he no longer needed to study under someone's guidance. Tsan-ning describes Wŏnhyo's Enlightenment experience as follows:[98]

> While seeking a big ship to go to China at a harbor of his country, Wŏnhyo was greeted by a heavy rain so that he and his companion, Ŭisang, stayed overnight at a house along the roadside to escape the storm. Next morning, they discovered that they had been sleeping in a tomb with skulls. However, the weather stayed so bad that they could not leave the tomb. That night ghosts came suddenly and bothered them. At that moment Wŏnhyo sang, "It was peaceful last night when I thought this was a house, but tonight there are so many ghosts, after I know this is a tomb."

If one stops to think about this historical event in Wŏnhyo's life within the limits of the information given by Wŏnhyo's biographers, Wŏnhyo will remain an obscure and legendary figure, but the next passage from Tsan-ning's <u>Kao-seng chuan</u> describing Wŏnhyo's Enlightenment experience at the tomb provides the link between legend and history. The passage says,[99]

> When a thought arises,
> various things arise;
> When a thought ceases,
> there is no difference between
> a house and a tomb.

The theme of this passage is not new; it was one of the most popular and widespread Mahāyāna Buddhist slogans in seventh century China. But this passage is almost identical with a passage found in <u>AFM</u>.[100] If allowed to restate Tsan-ning's obscure report about Wŏnhyo's Enlightenment in light of this fact, we might do so as follows: "Wŏnhyo

expressed the reason for giving up his dream of studying Yogācāra doctrine with Hsüan-tsang with a passage from AFM." If this restatement is permitted, then one is led to examine the relationship between Yogācāra doctrine and AFM in Wŏnhyo's philosophical world. Then one realizes that the event of Wŏnhyo's Enlightenment is neither accidental nor mythical but very historical, for according to Wŏnhyo's understanding the doctrine of AFM is one that overcomes the one-sidedness of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra extremes. Therefore, it is not simply conjecture to interpret Wŏnhyo's return home as a great philosophical turn on his part from the level of the Mādhyamika-Yogācāra struggle to the synthetic level of AFM.

Such an interpretation of a Buddhist Enlightenment experience should not be misunderstood as an attempt to reduce it to a simple historical event. But although the truth realized through a Buddhist Enlightenment experience may be beyond the limitations of historical time and place, yet the factors that drove the Buddhist to have that experience must be historical, and the expression of that experience, whether oral or written, must also be historical, because apart from history the cause and effect of an event, even a religious one, cannot be explained.

In Wŏnhyo's day, overcoming the polemical struggle

between the two rival Mahāyāna Buddhist schools, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, was a serious problem. According to the research of Park Chong-hong, the Mādhyamika camp was represented in seventh century Korea by the teaching of 僧朗 Sŭngnang (5th - 6th century A.D.) while the Yogācāra camp was led by Wŏnchŭk 圓測 (612-696 A.D.).[101] Although Wŏnhyo never mentioned Sŭngnang and Wŏnchŭk by name in his works, he criticized the two schools they represented as follows:

> (However, treatises) such as the Madhyamaka-śāstra, the Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra, etc., only refute all attachments and go on to refute the refutation. But (they) do not further admit that there is the refuter and that which is refuted. (Therefore,) these are called treatises which refute but are not complete. (On the other hand,) treatises such as the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra, the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-śāstra, etc., by penetratingly establishing (what is) profound and (what is) shallow, distinguish between teachings. But (they) do not reject the theories (they) themselves establish. (Therefore,) these are called treatises which establish but fail to refute.[102]

It is debatable whether or not Wŏnhyo's criticism of the two schools is accurate. But nevertheless it is undeniable that a dispute between the two schools did exist. And as long as their struggle was polemical, Wŏnhyo's characterization of each school was valid. For Wŏnhyo, moreover, the dispute between the two schools could

successfully be harmonized if the doctrine of _AFM_ were properly grasped. Immediately after the passage quoted above, Wǒnhyo concludes his criticism by extolling the _AFM_ as follows:

> Now this treatise (on awakening Mahāyāna faith) not only (contains) wisdom but also benevolence. (Its doctrine is) both mysterious and encyclopedic. (Therefore, it) does not establish anything it does not itself reject; (it) does not refute anything it does not also admit. "Also admit" indicates that if the refuter (carries) refutation to (its) extreme he will have completely established. "Itself reject" clarifies that if an affirmer (carries) affirmation to (its) extreme he will have negated. This is why the doctrine of (_On Awakening Mahāyāna Faith_) is called the patriarchal teaching of all treatises; (this is why its author is called) the chief arbitrator of all controversies.[103]

Here Wǒnhyo clearly affirms the supremacy of _AFM_ over the two rival Mahāyāna doctrines. If Wǒnhyo's major contribution to the history of Korean Buddhism may be said to be his having synthesized the position of the two rival Mahāyāna camps, then the historical role of Wǒnhyo with respect to Korean Buddhism is comparable to that of _AFM_ with respect to the evolution of the Mahāyāna Buddhist _śāstras_.[104]

Thus, although Tsan-ning's report about Wǒnhyo's Enlightenment experience is not very detailed, it is still possible to recognize the event as marking the beginning

of Wŏnhyo's leaving the level of the two rival Mahāyāna schools and advancing to the level of AFM.

On the second story: Breaking the Precept.

This story is not found in Tsan-ning's Sung Kao-seng chuan; it is found only in Iryŏn's Samguk yusa. The story goes as follows:[105]

> One day Wŏnhyo felt a strong desire for a woman. He walked through the streets (of Kyŏngju) singing "Who will lend me an axe that has lost its handle? I wish to cut a heaven-supporting pole." People did not understand the real meaning of his song, but when King Muyŏl heard it, he said, "This monk wants to marry a noble lady and get a wise son by her. If a sage is born, so much the better for the country."
>
> At this time there was a widowed princess living in Yosŏk Palace. The King told his officials to conduct Wŏnhyo to that palace, and they found that he had already descended South Mountain and reached the Mosquito Stream Bridge. Here he deliberately fell into the stream and got his clothes wet. Therefore, the palace officials led him to Yosŏk Palace and had him change his clothes. Thus he stayed there overnight.
>
> As a result, the princess became pregnant and bore a son whose name was Sŏl Ch'ong.[106]

Here the incident of Wŏnhyo's breaking the precept is described as if everything were performed deliberately according to a previous design. It is apparent that Iryŏn tried not to make Wŏnhyo's conduct appear disgraceful.

Iryŏn might have shared the belief common to many Buddhists that everything that happens around so-called enlightened people must differ from what happens around ordinary people. Such a conception of what Enlightenment is probably made Iryŏn dramatize this event, as well as Wŏnhyo's biography in general. Even today such an attitude may be observed in many who write about Wŏnhyo's life. This attitude is harmful because it obscures and distorts the real aspect of Wŏnhyo's unique experience.[107] As a matter of fact, a careful examination of all of Wŏnhyo's works reveals the extent of the carelessness and misinterpretations of Iryŏn and his followers.

First, Wŏnhyo had written much vinaya material in which he emphasized the importance of keeping the precepts.[108] For example, in the Palshim suhaeng chang 發心修行章, or Chapter on the Aspiration for Enlightenment and Practice,[109] apparently written by Wŏnhyo after he broke the precept, Wŏnhyo regretfully states the harmfulness of practitioners' having sexual desire and breaking that precept. Also, after breaking the precept, Wŏnhyo contemptuously called himself a layman. Thus, Wŏnhyo did not view having a son as heroic Bodhisattva behavior but as a shameful and regrettable scandal for a monk.[110]

Again, our interpretation must not be misunderstood as an attempt to belittle Wŏnhyo's greatness. Indeed,

Wŏnhyo's greatness begins to show only when Wŏnhyo's real aspect is revealed. That is, only when Wŏnhyo's love affair is treated as a scandal does the first story, about Wŏnhyo's Enlightenment experience, and the third story, about his dancing and singing all over the country, make real sense.

When one regards the second story as scandalous then the nature of Wŏnhyo's Enlightenment in the first story is revealed to be not the Perfect Enlightenment which was later so much to be emphasized by the Lin-ch'i branch of Ch'an Buddhism.[111] In other words, Wŏnhyo's experience was not the perfection of Buddhist practice but an awakening to Buddhist truth in the stage where external temptation is still to be feared.

On the third story: Dancing and singing all over the country.

This story has usually been interpreted as indicating the stage in Wŏnhyo's life where he reached perfection, the stage in which a man is perfectly free, being imbued with the spirit of interpenetration as expounded in Hua-yen doctrine. This is because, sometimes as a beggar, sometimes as a drunken customer in the prostitute's section of town, he appeared almost everywhere. Indeed, Wŏnhyo was really free in the sense of having access everywhere.

But, while appearing everywhere, Wŏnhyo was spreading the practice of Yŏmbul (念佛).[112]

If the second story may be regarded as a temptation story, then the third story may be regarded as describing Wŏnhyo's practice and propagation of the remedy for people who, although attaining a kind of awakening, nevertheless allow their practice to be hindered by various obstacles. In short, the third story tells of Wŏnhyo's devotion to and spreading of faith in Amitābha Buddha.

The fact that Wŏnhyo wrote quite a few texts on Pure Land Buddhism, as well as his emphasis on Yŏmbul (念佛), a recitation of the name of Amitābha Buddha, as shown in works such as his Palshim suhaeng chang 發心修行章, and the fact that later Japanese Pure Land Buddhists respected Wŏnhyo as a patriarch of the Pure Land lineage,[113] may be said to support our interpretation of the third story. In AFM, three steps in saving people are described.[114] The first step is simply to state the fundamental principle of Mahāyāna Buddhism, that the mind of all sentient beings is the matrix of Tathāgata, which it discusses in Chapters One, Two, and Three. The second step is to practice faith, i.e., to believe in Suchness, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, which it discusses in the first part of the fourth chapter. The third step is to recite the name of Amitābha Buddha, which it discusses in the

last part of the fourth chapter.

Of these three steps, the first is designed for the sharpest people, who are eventually going to become _niyata rāśi_; the second is designed for the _aniyata rāśi_, who are always in danger of backsliding into unbelief; the third is designed for those who are unable to practice by themselves because of their impotence in the face of the obstacles they meet. It may be said, therefore, that in the last part of his life Wŏnhyo followed the last step, as if he were the lowest level of practitioner. But because of his attitude Wŏnhyo was able to spread Buddhism all over the country. Therefore, Iryŏn said, because of Wŏnhyo's effort all the people in the country recited the Buddha's name.[115]

IV. Wŏnhyo's Bibliography

There is a significant difference between the biographical works written by Wŏnhyo's biographers and the works written by Wŏnhyo himself. In terms of approach, Wŏnhyo's biographers are more or less fanciful while Wŏnhyo himself is very philosophical,[116] at least in his extant works. As a matter of fact, no line that Wŏnhyo has written makes mention of anything miraculous whatsoever. Wŏnhyo always pursued religious issues, and his method of treating the issues is always based on a clear-cut understanding of the human condition. Thus it is truly ironic that today many writers treat Wŏnhyo in much the same way as the early biographers did while, surprisingly, few scholars give the kind of serious attention to the issues Wŏnhyo discusses that Wŏnhyo himself did. At this point the need for a critical study of Wŏnhyo's works themselves becomes apparent.

Wŏnhyo's early biographers mentioned a few works by Wŏnhyo, such as the *Kŭmgang sammaegyŏng non* 金剛三昧経論, or Treatise on the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*,[117] and the *Shimmun hwajaeng non* 十門和諍論, or *Treatise on the Harmonization of all Disputes in Ten Chapters*.[118] But the first comprehensive cataloguer of Wŏnhyo's

works was Ŭich'ŏn[119] (義天 : 1055-1101 A.D.), one of the most eminent Buddhist monks of the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392 A.D.). Ŭich'ŏn often criticized the contemporary tendency to esteem only works of Indian origin, at the expense of native East Asian productions. After many years of effort and sacrifice, at the risk of his life, Uich'on published a Buddhist catalogue in 1090 entitled the *Shinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄, or *Newly Compiled General Catalogue of the Commentaries of all (Buddhist) Schools*[120] (hereafter referred to as "Ŭich'ŏn's catalogue.").

Ŭich'ŏn's catalogue is historically significant in that it is the first attempt in the history of East Asian Buddhism to catalogue only those commentaries done by East Asians.[121] Of the 1,010 texts in 4,740 rolls listed in Ŭich'ŏn's catalogue, 44 texts in 82 rolls are by Wŏnhyo. The texts collected by Ŭich'ŏn, on the basis of which he compiled his catalogue, were engraved on wooden blocks with the support of the Koryŏ Court.[122] This activity lasted from 1092 until 1101, the year of Ŭich'ŏn's death. This carved edition is called *Sokchang* 續藏, or *The Continued Tripiṭaka*. Ŭich'ŏn prayed in the preface[123] to his catalogue that these commentaries might be preserved forever, together with *The First Carved Tripiṭaka* (初雕大藏経), the original tripiṭaka

of Indian origin. Unfortunately, *The Continued Tripiṭaka* was burned by the Mongolian invaders in 1232 together with all the wooden blocks of *The First Carved Tripiṭaka*, which was kept at Puin Monastery near Taegu, Korea.[124]

During the years 1236 to 1251, the Koryŏ Court had the tripiṭaka re-engraved. The result was the famous *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* (再雕大藏経), or *The Second Carved Tripiṭaka*, the oldest complete tripiṭaka in the world, which is now preserved at Haein Monastery. Sadly enough, however, Sugi (守其), the editor of *The Second Carved Tripiṭaka*, did not include Ŭich'ŏn's collection of East Asian commentaries in this new edition. If Sugi had included Ŭich'ŏn's *The Continued Tripiṭaka*, we would have had a clearer picture of Wŏnhyo's writings today. As it is, many of Wŏnhyo's works are now permanently lost.

Ŭich'ŏn's remained the only extensive bibliography of Wŏnhyo's writings until the early twentieth century, when modern scholars began their research into Wŏnhyo's works using the method of critical and comparative cataloguing. The most recent and comprehensive bibliography of Wŏnhyo's writings is found in the *Silla Pulgyŏ ŭi inyŏm kwa yŏksa* 新羅佛教의 理念과 歷史 , or *The Ideologies and History of Silla Buddhism*, written by Professor Cho Myŏng-gi in 1962.[125] In this book Professor Cho states that Wŏnhyo wrote 98 books in about

240 rolls, of which only twenty books in twenty-two rolls are extant. Most scholars have accepted these findings.[126] In his bibliography Professor Cho brought together the titles of all works by Wŏnhyo, which previously had appeared only in separate catalogues including the fifty-fifth volume of Taishō and the three-volume Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku.[127] Here we do not have to reproduce what Professor Cho did. However, we must make several points about Professor Cho's work in order that the nature of Wŏnhyo's writings be better understood.

First, Professor Cho's method is quite unsophisticated. His list of 98 titles gives the impression that it was not compiled according to any classification system at all, because the titles are simply listed without any classification symbols; Professor Cho does not do anything to correct this impression as nowhere does he explain the order of his list. However, if one undertakes to carefully examine Professor Cho's list, one observes that the 98 titles group themselves as follows:

1.	On the Avataṃsaka-sūtra	6 books
2.	On the Nirvāṇa-sūtra	2 books
3.	On the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra	4 books
4.	On the Lankāvatāra-sūtra	4 books
5.	On the Vimalakīrti-sūtra	2 books
6.	On the Chin-Kuang-ming ching	4 books

7.	On the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras	2 books
8.	On the Chin-kang san-mei ching	3 books
9.	On Tathāgatagarbha	5 books
10.	On the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra	1 book
11.	On the Pure Land sūtras	8 books
12.	On Fang Kuang ching	1 book
13.	On Vinaya	10 books
14.	On the Ch'i-hsin lun	5 books
15.	On the Ch'eng wei-shih lun	5 books
16.	On Hetuvidya	4 books
17.	On the Ta-chih-tu lun	3 books
18.	On the Fa-Hsiang School	4 books
19.	On the San-Lun School	4 books
20.	Others	25 books
	Total	98 books

With the help of this classification it is obvious that Professor Cho has listed the 98 works by Wŏnhyo in exactly the same order that Ŭich'ŏn followed in his catalogue, where all the commentaries were classified in the order of commentaries on the sūtras, commentaries on the vinaya, and commentaries on the śāstras, with the commentaries on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra put first, followed by the commentaries on the Nirvāṇa-sūtra, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, etc.

This brings us to the next point about Professor Cho's work, namely, that is it, quite frankly, invalid to apply Ŭich'ŏn's standard of classification to Wŏnhyo's works. In a word, Ŭich'ŏn's standard is primitive and sectarian.

Ŭich'ŏn placed the commentaries on the Avataṃsaka--sūtra first; this indicates that he was a Hua-yen monk. Ŭich'ŏn's contemporary and successor, Sugi, did not follow Ŭich'ŏn's scheme, but adopted the method of Chih-sheng's K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu 開元釋教錄, in which the Prajñāpāramitā texts are placed first.[128] The difference between Ŭich'ŏn's method and Sugi's method is not a simple matter of their having emphasized different texts; it reflects their different views on cataloguing. That is, while Sugi held the view that Buddhist texts were to be arranged according to historical priority, Ŭich'ŏn did not. Therefore, although we fully recognize the value of Ŭich'ŏn's catalogue and deeply regret Sugi's exclusion of Wŏnhyo's collection from The Second Carved Tripiṭaka, we have to point out that as far as a standard of classification is concerned, Sugi's principle is more acceptable in that it was the first attempt to make historical, not sectarian, considerations the basis for cataloguing Buddhist texts.

During the early part of this century Takakusu

Junjirō, editor of the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*, reclassified all Buddhist texts according to the most recent historical research.[129] Accordingly, the *Āgama* texts, considered to be the earliest Buddhist texts, are placed at the beginning of the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*.[130] Thus the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* represents a continuation of the historical approach initiated by Sugi. In keeping with this approach, we propose here to rearrange Wŏnhyo's works according to the historical priority of the texts on which they are based. In the following attempt we make full use of the fruits of Professor Cho's painstaking research.

First group -- On the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras

1. 金剛般若疏 (3 or 4), missing. T. 9184
2. 般若心経疏 (1), missing, T. 2184
3. 大慧度経宗要 (1), extant, T. 1697, p. 68
4. 大慧度経枢要 (1), missing, *Nara*
5. 大般若経宗要 (2), missing, T. 2177

Second group -- on the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra

6. 法華経宗要序 extant, *WC*, pp. 23-24
7. 法華宗要 (1), extant, T. 1725, vol. 34, pp. 870c-875c
8. 法華要略 (1), missing, *Nara*
9. 法華略述 (1), missing, *Nara*
10. 法華経方便品料簡 (1), missing, T. 2184

Third group -- On the Avatamsaka-sutra

11.	晋訳華嚴経疏序	extant, *WC*, pp. 73-76
12.	華嚴経疏	(8 or 10), extant: only roll 3, T. 2184, p. 234
13.	華嚴経宗要	(1), missing, T. 2184
14.	華嚴経綱目	(1), missing, Kenjun (謙順)
15.	一道章	(1), missing, T. 2184
16.	大乗觀行	(1 or 3), missing, T. 2184, *Nara*
17.	華嚴歌	missing, *Sillasa*
18.	劫義	missing
19.	道身章	missing
20.	無量義経宗要	(1), missing, Kenjun, T. 276
21.	方廣経疏	(2), missing, T. 2184

Fourth group -- On the Nirvana-sutra

22.	涅槃経宗要序	extant, *WC*, pp. 31-33
23.	涅槃経宗要	(1), extant, T. 1769
24.	涅槃経疏	(5), missing, *Nara*

Fifth group -- On the Vimalakirti-sutra

25.	維摩経宗要	(1), missing, T. 2184
26.	維摩経疏	(3), missing, *Nara*

Sixth group -- On the Suvarnaprabhasa-sutra

27.	金光明経疏	(8), missing, T. 2184
28.	金鼓経疏	(8), missing, T. 2183

29. 最勝王経疏 (8), missing, Kenjun

30. 金光明義記 missing, Gangyo (願暁)

Seventh group -- On the Bhadrapāla-sūtra

31. 般若三昧経疏 (1), missing, T. 2184

32. 般若三昧経略記 (1), missing, T. 2183

33. 般若三昧経略議 (1), missing, Nara

Eighth group -- On the Satyasiddhi

34. 成實論疏 (10 or 16), missing, T. 2183

Ninth group -- On the San-Lun School

35. 廣百論宗要 (1), missing. T. 2184

36. 百論撮要 (1), missing, Kenjun

37. 廣百論旨歸 (1), missing, T. 2183

38. 三論宗要 (1), missing, T. 2184

39. 二諦章 (1), missing, T. 2184

Tenth group -- On the Fa-hsiang School

40. 解深密経疏序 extant, WC, pp. 175-176

41. 解深密経疏 (3), missing, T. 2184

42. 成唯識論宗要 (1), missing. T. 2184

43. 攝大乘論疏 (4), missing, T. 2183

44. 世親釋論略記 (4), missing, T. 2184

45. 瑜伽論疏中實 (4), missing, T. 2184

46.	瑜伽抄	(5), missing, Nara
47.	中辺分別論疏	(4), extant: only roll 3, WC
48.	辨中辺論疏	(4) missing, Nara
49.	掌珍論宗要	(1), missing, T. 2184
50.	掌珍論料簡	(1), missing, T. 2183
51.	雑集論疏	(5), missing, T. 2183

Eleventh group -- On Nyāya

52.	因明論疏	(1), missing, T. 2184
53.	判比量論	(1), extant: fragment, WC, pp. 285-300
54.	判比量論跋文	extant, Z. 954
55.	正理記	(1), missing, Kenjun
56.	因明入正理論記	(1), missing, T. 2183

Twelfth group -- On Tathāgatagarbha

57.	不増不減経	(1), missing, T. 2184
58.	勝鬘経疏	(2 or 4), missing, T. 2184, T. 2183
59.	宝性論料簡	(1), missing, T. 2183
60.	宝性論宗要	(1), missing, Nara
61.	楞伽経疏	(7 or 8), missing, T. 2184, Nara
62.	入楞伽経疏	(7 or 8), missing, T. 145, Nara

63. 楞伽経宗要 (1), missing, T. 2184
64. 楞伽宗要論 (1), missing, T. 2183
65. 起信論別記 (1), extant, T. 1845
66. 起信論疏 (2), extant, T. 1844
67. 起信論宗要 (1), missing, T. 2184
68. 起信論大記 (1), missing, T. 2184
69. 起信論料簡 (1), missing, T. 2184
70. 起信論一道章 (1), missing, T. 2184
71. 起信論二障章 missing, Nara
72. 二障義 (1), extant, WC, pp. 317-360
73. 大乘二障義 (1), extant, WC, pp. 317-360
74. 金剛三昧経序 extant, WC, pp. 81-82
75. 金剛三昧經論 (6 or 3), extant, T. 1730, vol. 34, p. 961
76. 金剛三昧経論疏 (3 or 6), missing, T. 2183
77. 金剛三昧経論記 (3), missing, Nara

Thirteenth group -- On the Pure Land sūtras

78. 無量壽経疏 (1 or 2), missing, T. 2184
79. 無量壽経私記 (1), missing, Chōsai (長西)
80. 兩巻無量壽経宗要 (1), extant, T. 1747, p. 125
81. 佛説阿彌陀経疏 (1), extant, T. 1759, vol. 37, pp. 347f
82. 阿彌陀経義疏 (1), missing, Kōryū (興隆)
83. 阿彌陀経通讃疏 (1), missing, Bunyū (文雄)

84.	彌勒上生経宗要	(1), extant, T. 1773, p. 299
85.	彌勒上生経疏	(3), missing, T. 2183
86.	遊心安樂道	(1), extant, T. 1965, vol. 47, p. 110

Fourteenth group -- On Vinaya

87.	梵網経疏	(2), missing, T. 2184
88.	梵網経略疏	(1), missing, T. 2184
89.	菩薩戒本持犯要記	(1), extant, T. 1907, vol. 45, p. 918
90.	菩薩戒本宗要	(1), extant, T. 1906
91.	梵網経菩薩戒本私記	(2), extant: only roll 1, Z. 95.2
92.	四分律羯磨疏	(4), missing, T. 2183
93.	四分律科	(3), missing, Koryu
94.	四分律行宗記	(8), missing, Koryu
95.	四分律濟緣記	(8), missing, Koryu
96.	本業経疏序	extant, WC, pp. 131-132
97.	菩薩瓔珞本業経疏	(2 or 3), extant: only roll 2, Z. 61.3
98.	大乘六情懺悔	(1), extant, T. 1908, vol. 45, p. 921
99.	發心修行章	(1), extant, WC, pp. 373-377
100.	調伏我心論	(1), missing, T. 2184
101.	安身事心論	(1), missing, T. 2184

102. 求道譬喩論 (1), missing, T. 2184

103. 初章 (1), missing. T. 2184

104. 六現觀義發菩提心義淨義含 (1), missing, *Nara*

Fifteenth group -- Others

105. 十門和諍論序 extant, *WC*, p. 303

106. 十門和諍論 (1), extant: fragment, *WC*, pp. 303-315

In our list we have added eight titles to Professor Cho's 98, swelling the number of works by Wǒnhyo to 106. These newly discovered titles are listed in Dr. Ch'ae In-hwan's valuable book, *Shiragi Bukkyǒ kairitsu shisō kenkyū*.[131] Three factors determined our standard of classification: first, the history of the development of Buddhist texts; second, the history of the development of Chinese Buddhist schools; third, the history of the development of Wǒnhyo's thought. The order of the first thirty-four texts, from the first group, "On the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*," to the seventh group, "On the *Bhadrapāla--sūtra*," is fairly similar to that of the *Taishō Tripitaka*. In our list commentaries on the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* precede those on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. This is because although the latter came to be more influential in China,

at first the former was more popular. This was also the case with Wŏnhyo. The order of the next seventy-three texts, from the eighth group, "On the *Satyasiddhi*," to the fifteenth and last group, "Others," is designed to reflect the theoretical development of Wŏnhyo's thought as it engaged the various Chinese Buddhist schools. In actual fact, with respect to the history of the development of the texts, the texts forming the basis of the thirteenth group, "On the Pure Land sūtras," and those forming the basis of the fourteenth group, "On Vinaya," were introduced into China before the texts forming the basis of the ninth group, "On the San-Lun School," and those forming the basis of the tenth group, "On the Fa-hsiang School." However, it seems that Wŏnhyo studied the San-Lun and Fa-hsiang texts at an earlier stage in his career and later proceeded to study the *Tathāgatagarbha* texts,[132] especially *AFM* and the *Chin-kang san-mei-ching lun*, which synthesize the San-Lun and Fa-hsiang teachings. In the final stages of his career Wŏnhyo emphasized the importance of keeping the precepts and tried to persuade people to practice as *aniyata rāśi*, whose faith is in constant danger of backsliding. As a result, he naturally emphasized the Vinaya and Pure Land texts at this stage of his career. The end of Wŏnhyo's long writing career was marked by the appearance of the *Shimmun Hwajaeng non*, or *Harmonization of all*

Disputes in Ten Chapters. The significance of this work will be discussed in the following section.

V. Wŏnhyo's Thought

Although there is almost nothing upon which Wŏnhyo did not touch, nevertheless, later Korean Buddhists, including almost all modern Wŏnhyo experts, agree that Wŏnhyo's lifelong concern was to establish a foundation for T'ong pulgyo, or "Buddhism of Complete Interpenetration. by means of Hwajaeng, or "Harmonization of All Disputes." This is the essence of Wŏnhyo's thought, his central philosophy.[133]

Many papers and a number of books on Wŏnhyo have already been published, but most of them are either biographical or bibliographical or else are only partial approaches dealing with special topics; very few devote themselves to Wŏnhyo's central philosophy. The most recent scholarly work on Wŏnhyo is Professor Lee Chong-ik's long essay entitled "The Fundamental Thought of Wŏnhyo: A Study of Shimmun hwajaeng non (or Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Chapters),"[134] published in 1977. In his preface Professor Lee criticizes previous scholars:[135]

> "So far no one has succeeded in completely understanding Wŏnhyo's thought; even Ŭich'ŏn (1055-1101), known as the person who first discovered the real value of Wŏnhyo's thought, did not understand it completely."

The earliest extant record of Wŏnhyo's central philosophy is found in the Kosŏn Monastery inscription. The inscription reads in part:[136]

> [When Wŏnhyo stayed] at a small shrine in the suburbs to the northwest of the King's castle, [he read] secular books such as "The Book of Predictions"...and non-Buddhist books which have been rejected by the [Buddhist] world [for a long time]. Finally, he wrote the <u>Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Chapters</u>, [a part of which states:]
>
> "When the Tathāgata was in the world, everybody relied on his perfect teaching. After Buddha's death, however, people's opinions were like showers and pointless theories like rising clouds. Some said, 'I am right; others are wrong.' Others argued, 'mine is like this [but] others' are not like this.' Finally, [theories and opinions] became a flood.
>
> ...the attitude of staying in a deep valley while [avoiding] great mountains or loving emptiness while hating existence is just like the attitude of going into a forest while avoiding trees. But one should be aware of the fact that green and blue are identical in essence, and ice and water are identical in origin; a mirror reflects myriad forms, and parted waters will perfectly comingle [once they are brought back together]."
>
> Therefore, [Wŏnhyo] wrote the <u>Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Chapters</u>, which everybody accepts. Everyone says it is excellent.

The author of this inscription reported only the motives behind Wŏnhyo's writing the <u>Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Chapters</u> and its impact; he did not discuss the theory contained within it. However, two facts about the inscription are worth noting. First,

of the many works by Wŏnhyo, only the Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Chapters was selected for mentioning. This would indicate that the idea of harmonization was recognized as a central element in Wŏnhyo's thought. Second and more important, five similes are mentioned for harmonizing people's disputes. The first is the simile of a forest and trees. This indicates the ignorance of people who know only the name while failing to see what the name really means. The second and third similes, about the relationship of green to blue and ice to water, illustrate that although the appearance of a thing may vary, its essence is one and the same. The fourth simile, about the mirror in which myriad forms are reflected, reveals the relationship between the one essence (here represented by the mirror) and its variant forms. The fifth simile , about water for which no real division is possible, can be read as a very forceful allusion to the possibility of harmonizing all disputes.

We know nothing about the author of this inscription. Some scholars say that the passage which we placed between quotation marks is part of Wŏnhyo's preface[137] to the Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Chapters. However, as only fragments of the treatise survive, that cannot be proven.

The next record of Wŏnhyo's ideas concerning the

harmonization of all disputes is found in Ŭich'ŏn's (1055-1101 A.D.) "Funeral Odes for Wŏnhyo of Punhwang Monastery."[138] Ŭich'ŏn's remarks are more general than those of the Kosŏn monastery inscription:

> Wŏnhyo harmonized the disputes of all people by penetratingly clarifying [the relationship between] essence [t'i 体]and marks [hsiang 相]and by comprehensively embracing the past and the present. He harmonized all disputes so that he established an extremely impartial theory for that time...I have examined all philosophers of the past, but there is no one like Wŏnhyo...

Some scholars regard "essence" mentioned above as referring to the meditative tradition of the T'ien-t'ai school, and "marks" as referring to Hsüan-tsang's Fa-hsiang school.[139] However, because Ŭich'ŏn did not elaborate further, it is impossible to determine whether this is really the case.

Ŭich'ŏn is known as the first person to "discover" Wŏnhyo. Ŭich'ŏn refers to Wŏnhyo variously as "Wŏnhyo, the Lord of Korean Buddhism," "Wŏnhyo the Bodhisattva," "Wŏnhyo the Holy Sage," etc. In 1101, King Sukchong of the Koryŏ Dynasty granted Wŏnhyo the posthumous title of Hwajaeng Kuksa, or "National Master of the Harmonization of All Disputes," and erected a commemorative stone pagoda with inscription.[141] This was accomplished through Ŭich'ŏn's effort. Ŭich'ŏn lived in a time of religious turmoil; especially severe was the struggle between the meditative and the scripture studying factions. One of Ŭich'ŏn's

lifelong goals as the most prominent Buddhist of his time was to terminate all of those violent disputes. This is probably the reason why he and his followers found Wŏnhyo's theory of harmonization so attractive. But it is strange that it is not possible to find a discussion of Wŏnhyo's theory of harmonization from Ŭich'ŏn. Unless hitherto unknown works by Ŭich'ŏn are unearthed, one can only conclude that either he was not a scholar, and so was not equipped to discuss Wŏnhyo's theory, or else he simply tried to realize Wŏnhyo's ideal through T'ien-t'ai doctrine, which harmonizes meditation and scriptural study.[142]

Ŭich'ŏn was succeeded in championing the idea of harmonization by Chinul (1158-1210 A.D.), who greatly influenced the later development of Korean Buddhism. Chinul especially emphasized the unity of meditation and scriptural study. In this regard Chinul frequently quotes Wŏnhyo, but his purpose in quoting him is almost always restricted to showing Wŏnhyo as a scriptural scholar who practiced meditation, rather than as one who had already explicitly emphasized the unity of scriptural studies and meditation. Actually, Chinul is the Sŏn (Ch'an) master who skillfully changed the direction of Korean Buddhism from emphasis on scriptural studies to emphasis on the practice of Sŏn meditation.[143] So far no Chinul expert has discussed in detail Chinul's relationship to Wŏnhyo.[144]

Chinul did not have just one teacher; if a teaching had value, no matter whose it was, he accepted it. In the Ch'an aspects of his thought, Chinul was influenced by Hui-neng (638-713 A.D.) and Ta-hui (1088-1163 A.D.), in the Hua-yen aspects by the layman, Li T'ung-hsüan (635-730 A.D.). In the aspects influenced by the school of Sudden Enlightenment and Gradual Practice, he inclined to the teaching of Tsung-mi (780-841 A.D.); and in the aspects influenced by the theory of the unity between Ch'an and Pure Land, he inclined to the teaching of Yen-shou (904-975 A.D.). However, no records mention any influence from Wŏnhyo.[145]

But Chinul must have read Wŏnhyo's works. Chinul lived in the period between the first carving of the Korean Tripiṭaka (1010-1082) and the famous second carving (1236-1251). It was not until twenty-two years after the death of Chinul that the Mongolian invaders burnt the first carving of the Korean Tripiṭaka. As the first carving of the tripiṭaka included Ŭich'ŏn's collection of commentaries and non-canonical texts, including Wŏnhyo's, and as both Chinul and his biographer state that he had read all the Buddhist texts,[146] Chinul must have read Wŏnhyo's works, including the <u>Treatise on the Harmonization of All Disputes in Ten Chapters</u>. At the very least, Chinul must have been aware of the posthumous title, "National Master

of the Harmonization of All Disputes" accorded to Wŏnhyo by King Sukchong. Therefore, it is odd that he did not discuss Wŏnhyo's ideas on harmonization in reference to his own ideas of unification unless he disagreed with Wŏnhyo. In that case he would have refrained from mentioning Wŏnhyo because in mentioning him he would have had to criticize him, which his ethic as a monk would have prevented him from doing.[147]

After Chinul, many monks quoted Wŏnhyo, but without discussing his theory of harmonization. This was probably the result of the Sŏn school's having overpowered all other schools: Sŏn people did not like the idea of their school's harmonizing with other schools for they kept insisting on the supremacy of their teaching.

It was not until the early years of the twentieth century that the serious study of Wŏnhyo began, with the publication by Professor Cho Myong-gi of the collected works of Wŏnhyo in ten volumes.[148] But both this and his later work, The Ideologies and History of Silla Buddhism, published in 1962, remain mostly within the biographical realm. A History of Korean Thought, by Dr. Park Chong-hong, which appeared in 1966, was the first book to discuss Wŏnhyo's theory of harmonization from a philosophical perspective.[149]

Dr. Park is famous for attempting to show in this

book that Wŏnhyo was the synthesizer of two opposing schools: the Mādhyamika school of Sŭngnang (5th - 6th century A.D.) and the Yogācāra school of Wŏnchŭk (612-696 A.D.). Although this is a very attractive and ambitious thesis, unfortunately it is not convincing. Sŭngnang was of the Silla Dynasty and was a great Mādhyamika master, but there is no evidence that he performed any scholarly or missionary activity before leaving Korea for China; once he went to China, he did not return. The same is true of Wŏnchŭk. Wŏnhyo, however, had never been to China, nor did he mention the names or cite the works of either Sŭngnang or Wŏnchŭk in any of his writings. Thus, one cannot claim that he had been influenced by them in any way. So although Wŏnhyo did try to resolve the Mādhyamika-Yogācāra conflict by synthesizing the two approaches in his own thought, it is incorrect to say that he is the synthesizer of the two opposing <u>schools</u>.

But Park has made a lasting contribution to the study of Wŏnhyo: he doggedly pursued, from a philosophical perspective, the logic underlying all of Wŏnhyo's thought. According to Park, in his theory of the harmonization of all disputes Wŏnhyo clarified the relationship between doctrine (宗 <u>chong</u>) and essence (要 <u>yo</u>) by means of the concepts of unfolding (開 <u>kae</u>) and sealing (合 <u>hap</u>) the truth.[150] "Doctrine" refers to the development of the

one into the many while "essence" refers to the unification of the many into the one. When the truth is unfolded it is called doctrine; when sealed, it is called essence. The unfolding aspect of the truth is also called the arising aspect of dharmas while the sealing aspect of the truth is called the ceasing aspect of dharmas. Furthermore, the aspect of arising is sometimes referred to as the aspect of accomplishing myriad virtues while the aspect of ceasing is referred to as the aspect of returning to One Mind. Although these two aspects seem to be contradictory, in fact, they freely interpenetrate without any obstruction.[151] The Madhyamika doctrine of Nagarjuna concentrated on the aspect of ceasing and ignored its interpenetration with the aspect of arising, while the Yogacara doctrine of Maitreya and Asanga clarified the aspect of arising but ignored its interpenetration with the aspect of ceasing.[152]

However, Asvaghosa's AFM is fully aware of the fact that these two aspects are totally interpenetrated. Wonhyo found the basis for his theory of the harmonization of all disputes from the principle of interpenetration as expressed in AFM. This is the reason why Wonhyo stressed the importance of AFM. In having so indicated the importance of Wonhyo's commentaries on AFM for understanding the relationship between Wonhyo's theory of harmonization

and the principle of interpenetration as expressed in AFM, Park has made a major contribution to the study of Wŏnhyo.

* * *

It is our future task to elaborate the structure of interpenetration in Wŏnhyo's harmonization theory, especially as it relates to the question of practice. In other words, in order to realize interpenetration between unfolding and sealing, a double negation of the self which perceives a dispute must be performed, otherwise interpenetration will remain a notion within the realm of conceptual play. That is, if the self does not realize interpenetration between the positions upheld by two parties to a dispute, it is only because of the self's attachment to its self-nature (svabhāva). Therefore, if self-nature is not negated, interpenetration will not be realized.[153]

For example, if my jāti position is negated, but my maranam position is not negated, then I can maintain my maranam position. If so, then interpenetration will not be realized. Therefore, both the jāti and the maranam positions are to be simultaneously negated. This means the complete realization of breaking the self-nature. Once the breaking of the self-nature, which occurs after the double negation, is realized, then both jāti and maranam exist together within the self's world. Then, jāti and maranam are interpenetrated. That is, jāti is not simply

jāti, and maranam is not simply maranam. Therefore, jāti can be maranam, and maranam can be jāti while at the same time jāti is maintained as jāti and maranam is maintained as maranam. Therefore, Wŏnhyo's harmonization must begin with the self's self-negation. This is a double negation in which that which is negated is not simply an objective jāti or objective maranam in which one's former self safely resides; rather, that which is negated is the self itself. Therefore, for a correct understanding of Wŏnhyo's theory of harmonization, which is the essence of Wŏnhyo's thought, the problem of how to realize interpenetration within the individual's world must be solved.[154]

VI. Conclusion

Wŏnhyo valued AFM because in it he could find the principle upon which he could build the foundation of T'ong pulgyo 通佛教, or "Buddhism of Complete Interpenetration."[155] Wŏnhyo found this principle stated at the beginning of Chapter Three of AFM. There we read:[156]

> IN GENERAL, THERE ARE TWO WAYS OF EXPLAINING (THE TERM) "MAHĀYĀNA." WHAT ARE THE TWO? FIRST IS (ACCORDING TO ITS) PRINCIPLE; THE SECOND IS (ACCORDING TO ITS) SIGNIFICATIONS. THE WORD "PRINCIPLE" MEANS THE MIND OF SENTIENT BEINGS. THIS MIND EMBRACES ALL ENTITIES IN THE MUNDANE AND SUPRAMUNDANE WORLDS. (I) WILL REVEAL THE MEANING OF MAHĀYĀNA ON THE BASIS OF THIS MIND. WHY? BECAUSE THE SUCHNESS ASPECT OF THIS MIND SHOWS THE ESSENCE OF MAHĀYĀNA, (WHILE) THE CONDITIONAL ASPECT OF THE ARISING AND CEASING OF THIS MIND CAN SHOW THE ATTRIBUTES AND OPERATION OF MAHĀYĀNA ITSELF.

By means of this principle, Wŏnhyo felt he could synthesize all Mahāyāna Buddhist disputes. According to Wŏnhyo, philosophical disputes originate in ignorance; one sees only one side of an issue and clings to it. In order to eliminate ignorance, one must re-examine the position to which one is so strongly attached to see whether the position hitherto neglected or rejected may be admitted. Through this process my position and the opposing position begin to seem inseparable. At this level of understanding,

previous conflicts are no longer conflicts; the two sides of the argument are seen to be mutually dependent. Therefore, AFM says,[157]

> BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE MIND THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS. WHAT ARE THE TWO? THE FIRST IS MIND'S SUCHNESS ASPECT; THE SECOND IS MIND'S ARISING AND CEASING ASPECT. THESE TWO ASPECTS EACH WITHOUT EXCEPTION COMPLETELY EMBRACE ALL DHARMAS. WHAT DOES THIS SIGNIFY? (IT SIGNIFIES THAT) THESE TWO ASPECTS ARE INSEPARABLE FROM ONE ANOTHER.

It may be said that Wǒnhyo's whole focus in his commentaries on AFM is on the inseparability of these two aspects in One Mind. Wǒnhyo believed that once this relationship between the two is understood not only would all disputes among the Mahāyāna schools be resolved but all the doctrinal differences among the various Mahāyāna Buddhist texts would be understood. Therefore, in characterizing AFM Wǒnhyo says,[158]

> Although what is discussed (in the treatise) is vast, it may be summarized in (the following) words. By revealing two aspects in One Mind, it comprehensively includes the 108 jewels of the Mahāyāna teaching, and by showing the essential purity in phenomenal impurity, it completely synthesizes (all Mahāyāna doctrines).

In RC Wǒnhyo characterized the relationship between the two aspects as being like that between the completely empty and the very mysterious, Suchness and phenomena, the invisible and the visible, the ineffable and the effable,

the great and the infinitesimal, the exteriorless and the interiorless, something and nothing. By characterizing the relationship of the two aspects like this, Wŏnhyo wanted simply to indicate their inseparability.[159] In EN Wŏnhyo likened the relationship between the two aspects as being similar to that between the private and the public, the partial and the impartial, the impure and the pure, arising and ceasing, the absolute and the conventional, the path of thinking and the path of prayer. Throughout his explanation of Mahāyāna in his commentaries on AFM, Wŏnhyo assumes the inseparability of the two aspects.

Wŏnhyo explained the inseparability of the two aspects by means of various metaphysical formulas of Chinese philosophy, such as the T'i-yung 体用 formula.[160] The T'i-yung formula was the most widely used metaphysical formula in the history of Chinese philosophy since the emergence of the three main schools of thought in China during the Three Kingdoms.[161] Wŏnhyo was the first Korean Buddhist to use the T'i-yung formula in explaining religious experience.

Wŏnhyo used the T'i-yung formula to illustrate the interdependence of t'i 体, or essence, and yung, or function (operation). For example, the light of a candle is the candle's yung, or function, while the candle itself is the t'i or essence. Waves and ocean may be similarly

analyzed. These similes show the interdependence of two seemingly different aspects, such as light and candle, waves and ocean. Wŏnhyo sought to explain the inseparability of the two aspects in One Mind like this.

Some western scholars today overlook Wŏnhyo's point about the inseparability of the two aspects. For example, Yoshito Hakeda, the most recent translator of AFM, insists that "the title of the text, the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana, should...be understood as the 'Awakening of Faith in the Absolute...'"[162] In other words, Hakeda has set up an "Absolute" besides the absolute as opposed to phenomena. This is in direct contradiction of the principle which Wŏnhyo understood to be the essence of AFM, the principle of pu-hsiang li-hsing 不相離性, or interdependence of the absolute and phenomena. As a result, Hakeda does not read AFM as discussing the relationship between the absolute and phenomena, but about the relationship between Mahāyāna or Absolute and the absolute-phenomena axis. The former is the issue of AFM; the latter is very reminiscent of Samkara concerns.[163] Therefore, Hakeda deserves to be criticized as changing the issue of AFM. That is, so to speak, AFM's concern with the horizontal relationship between the two aspects, which gives them equal weight and aims at amalgamating the two, is transformed into a concern with a vertical relationship in which

there is a hierarchical distinction made between the Absolute on one hand and the absolute and phenomena on the other. Although Hakeda never presents the issue of AFM in these terms, this understanding underlies his thinking.

Two recent doctoral dissertations from Harvard University discuss this issue; one was completed by Whalen Lai in 1975 and is entitled The Awakening of Faith in Mahayana;[164] the other was completed by Hee Sung Keel and is entitled Chinul, The Founder of Korean Sŏn (Zen) Tradition.[165] Both dissertations contain sizeable discussions about Wŏnhyo's understanding of AFM. Unfortunately, Whalen Lai holds more or less the same position as Hakeda. Lai fails to grasp the inseparability of the two aspects, as he claims that the absolute aspect creates the phenomenal aspect. Hee Sung Keel understands the relationship between the two aspects as dialectical. This contradicts the understanding derived from applying the T'i-yung formula, as the T'i-yung relationship is manifestly not a dialectical one. Furthermore, if one understands the two aspects in this way, one cannot understand expressions like "the impotence of language," which is not implied by dialectical thinking, or "the knowledge of the enlightened ones," which is not entertained by dialectical thinking. Yet expressions like these are used in AFM and Wŏnhyo's commentaries whenever the interdependence of the two aspects is discussed.[166]

Wŏnhyo's purpose in emphasizing the interdependence of the two aspects is always to make his readers aware of their ignorance, which makes them cling to the distinction between the two. In other words, Wŏnhyo's prime purpose in writing his commentaries was awakening people. That is why Wŏnhyo paid so much attention to the problem of faith and practice.

While studying Wŏnhyo, one must always keep awakening, faith, and practice in mind. Awakening is not accomplished through knowledge; it is accomplished only when the basis upon which one's present knowledge rests is completely destroyed. Therefore, Wŏnhyo concludes his discussion about the relationship between the two aspects with the following words,[167]

> I do not know how to describe it; therefore, I am compelled to call it "Mahāyāna."

Thus, in pursuing the meaning of Mahāyāna as having two aspects, Wŏnhyo clearly is brought to the point where words fail and thought, based on such words, is rendered impotent.

Whenever Wŏnhyo reached this point in the relationship between the two aspects, he would use the words ion chŏllyŏ 離言絕慮 : li-yen chüeh-lü, or wordlessness and no-thought. This is now a favorite expression of Korean Sŏn (Ch'an) Buddhists when describing the world of Sŏn.

This idea is traceable back beyond Wŏnhyo to the Lao-tzu Tao-te ching and the early Ch'an masters of sixth century China.[168] But in Korea it was Wŏnhyo who first used this expression to describe Buddhist experience. This is not generally recognized.

Buddhism was introduced to Korea from China in the fourth century A.D. Korean Buddhism began with scriptural studies; by Wŏnhyo's time, during the Silla Dynasty, these studies had fully matured. At the end of the Silla Dynasty, the tradition of scriptural study was challenged by the newly imported Sŏn tradition. Therefore, the task that Buddhist leaders such as Ŭich'ŏn and Chinul faced during the Koryŏ Dynasty was reconciling the struggle between the two opposing traditions: scriptural studies and Sŏn meditation. In this situation, Wŏnhyo's theory of the harmonization of all disputes was again welcomed, by both Ŭich'ŏn and Chinul, after several hundred years of neglect. It is truly unfortunate that even today the doctrinal relationship between Wŏnhyo's Silla Buddhism and Ŭich'ŏn's and Chinul's Koryŏ Buddhism has not been completely examined by Korean scholars. One must carefully investigate the possibility whether or not Ŭich'ŏn and Chinul were practitioners of Wŏnhyo's theory of harmonization. This is one of the important tasks to be undertaken in the field of Korean Buddhist studies in the future.

Despite the efforts of Ŭich'ŏn and Chinul, both of whom devoted themselves to the harmonization of the dispute between the scriptural tradition and Sŏn, Buddhism during the Yi Dynasty was overwhelmed by the Sŏn tradition. However, Wŏnhyo's influence on the greatest Yi Dynasty Sŏn master, Sŏsan (西山 1520-1604 A.D.), is clearly to be seen, especially Wŏnhyo's concern with Pure Land Buddhism[169] and the study of Confucianism and Taoism.[170] This influence is evident in Sŏsan's major works, such as Sŏnga kugam[171] 禪家龜鑑, or Manual of Sŏn Buddhism and Samga kugam[172] 三家龜鑑, or Manual of the Three Religions. Had Yi Buddhism not been suppressed so badly by the Confucian government, Yi Buddhism might have assumed the balanced shape that Wŏnhyo had envisioned.

The twentieth century has seen a revival of scriptural studies and dialogue among the different religious groups in Korea. The task remains, however, critically to reinterpret and apply the traditional Korean Buddhist ideal of T'ong pulgyo, or "Buddhism of Complete Interpenetration," first envisioned by Wŏnhyo in the sixth century and dominating his writing, continued by Ŭich'ŏn and Chinul of the Koryŏ Dynasty, and reasserted by Sŏsan of the Yi Dynasty.

Notes to Part One

1. A number of books have been written about the Buddhist canon. For the Pali canon see Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1933, especially Vol. II, Section III, pp. 1-423. For the Sanskrit texts see Yamada Ryūjō, *Bongo Butten no shobunken*, Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1977. For the history of the formation of the original Buddhist texts in general, see Maeda Egaku's *Genshi Bukkyō seiten no seiritsushi kenkyū*, Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1964. This is the most comprehensive book of its kind.

The following books on the Chinese Buddhist canon are reliable: Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine; les Traducteurs et les Traductions*, Vols. 1 and 4, Paris: Sino-Indica Publications de l'université de Calcutta, 1927-1938; Paul Demiéville, "Sur les Éditions Imprimées du Canon Chinois," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome XXIV, Hanoi, 1924; Ono Gemmyō, "Bukkyō kyōten sōron," vol. 12 of *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1931-1936; Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 365-386.

2. For the schools of Buddhism in China, see Kenneth Ch'en, ibid., pp. 297-364.

3. As Yanagida Seizan, one of the most energetic of contemporary Japanese Zen scholars, says in his discussion of the origin of Ch'an Buddhism in China, the early Ch'an masters such as Bodhidharma (arrived in China in 521 A.D.) and Hui-neng (638-713) did not neglect the importance of canonical instruction. The negligence shown towards the canon was a fairly late development in Ch'an Buddhism, after it had become popular and powerful. Extreme condemnation of scriptural studies began with Kung-an (Kōan) Ch'an masters such as Ta-hui (1088-1163). See Yanagida Seizan, Zen shisō (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1975), pp. 9-106 and Yanagida Seizan, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 419-484.

4. In the second chapter of AFM, "Reasons for Writing the Treatise," there are two pairs of questions and answers; the second one of them is a discussion of this problem. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 7-17. Wŏnhyo discusses this in his commentary also: see T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 205c, line 5 - p. 206a, line 16.

5. It is undeniable that AFM became popular very quickly because of the many early records which mention AFM and commentaries on it. However, I disagree with previous scholars such as Mochizuki Shinkō and Ui Hakuju

about the reasons for its popularity. They claimed that its popularity was due to the fame of Aśvaghoṣa and Paramārtha. This may be true, but it can be only partially true. Many texts bear the names of Aśvaghoṣa and Paramārtha, but none have been as influential as AFM. Therefore, one may say that it was the doctrinal content of AFM which guaranteed its success; only this can explain its prominent historical role in sixth century Chinese Buddhism. Although Wŏnhyo did not doubt the authenticity of the text, he did not discuss the author and translator, whereas Hui-yüan and Fa-tsang did discuss them. See the preface to Mochizuki Shinkō's Daijō kishin ron no kenkyū (hereafter referred to as DKK-M) (Tokyo: Kanao bunendo, 1922), pp. 1-5. See also the postface to Ui Hakuju's Daijō kishin ron (hereafter referred to as DK-U) (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1936), pp. 131-132. See also T. 1843, vol. 44, p. 175c, line 11 - p. 176a, line 8 and T. 1846, vol. 44, p. 245c, line 25 - p. 246a, line 8.

6. For the nature of Fa-tsang's commentaries, see DK-U, p. 132. An excellent overall survey of commentaries on AFM is given in Mochizuki Shinkō's DKK-M, pp. 203-346. Mochizuki's survey includes detailed and annotated explanations of 176 commentaries on AFM. For the most recent comprehensive survey see Hirakawa Akira's Daijō kishin ron (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1976), pp. 390-413.

7. Murakami Senshō gives a good review of the criticism of AFM. See his Daijō kishin ron kōgi (Tokyo: Tōyō daigaku shuppanbu, 1912), pp. 19-31.

8. See DK-U, pp. 138-139.

9. See ibid., p. 140.

10. Wŏnhyo wrote nine commentaries on AFM; only two are extant: T. 1844 and T. 1845 (see Part Two, "Introduction to Translation"). For the titles of the seven missing commentaries see the third section of Part One, "Wŏnhyo's Bibliography."

11. Almost all the books and records about AFM mention the three great commentaries. The earliest attested one to do so is the preface by the Japanese monk Kakugen. It is included in T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202a, lines 3-4. See my translation of Kakugen's preface in the Appendix.

12. T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, line 12.

13. Many books and papers have been published about Wŏnhyo, but few of them are critical. There have been three translations of Wŏnhyo's commentaries into modern Korean, but none of the three is reliable. See Note 3 to the translation in Part Two.

14. See Motoi Nobuo's paper, "Shiragi Gangyo no denki ni tsuite," Ōtani gakuhō XLI, No. 1 (1961), p. 37.

15. See the introduction to <u>AFM-H</u>, pp. 3-19.

16. For the second translation, see ibid., pp. 8-9; see also T. 2060, vol. 50, p. 458b, lines 27-28.

17. The following are the English translations of <u>AFM</u> in chronological order:

(1) D.T. Suzuki. <u>Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna</u>. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1900. This translation was based on Śīkṣānanda's translation (T. 1667). It is quite faithful to the original text.

(2) Timothy Richard. <u>The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna Doctrine</u>. Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907. This is a good, readable translation, but it has a very strong Christian bias.

(3) Wei Tao. "Awakening of Faith," included as a section in <u>A Buddhist Bide</u>, ed. by Dwight Goddard. Boston: Beacon Press, 1938. This translation is very free and omits parts of the original text; it is unreliable.

(4) Richard Robinson. <u>Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna</u>. 1960. This is an unpublished translation. It is very faithful to the Chinese original.

(5) Yoshito Hakeda. <u>The Awakening of Faith</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967. This is the most recent critical translation, and the most widely read, but it has many problems.

A sixth translation, The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna, Surrey: The Shrine of Wisdom, 1964, by the editors of the Shrine of Wisdom omits many passages and is generally unreliable and unscholarly.

18. Mochizuki's first paper is included in DKK-M, pp. 65-69.

19. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575b, lines 8-9.

20. Tokiwa Daijō, Mochizuki's opponent, usually championed the traditional view. See his Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1944), pp. 25-128.

21. For information about Taishō's editorial principle, including its basis, see Mizuno Kōgen, Butten kaidai jiten (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1977), pp. 55-56.

22. For Sugi's record, see K. 1402, vol. 38, pp. 512a - 725a.

23. Fei Ch'ang-fang's report about AFM is found in T. 2034, vol. 49, p. 99a, line 5.

Fa-ching's attitude is in marked contrast to Fei Ch'ang-fang's, whose catalogue was published three years after Fa-ching's in 597. Fei's catalogue was compiled by Fei himself working alone and took seventeen years to complete. He took so long because so far as possible he would inspect the texts himself. The present information about AFM, supported by the people disagreeing with Mochizuki, is mostly derived from Fei's catalogue.

24. Fei Ch'ang-fang, _Li-tai san-pao chi_, Vol. 11. T. 2034, vol. 49, p. 99a. Twelve other texts are listed without author's names on the same page as the record of _AFM_.

25. See T. 2146, vol. 55, p. 142, in which Fa-ching gives translators' names only.

26. The doubtful texts section is found in ibid., lines 15-16.

27. The forged texts section is found in ibid., lines 18-20.

28. _DK-U_, pp. 133-134.

29. About the quality of Fa-ching's catalogue, see Tokiwa Daijo, _Shina Bukkyo no kenkyū_, Vol. 2, pp. 31-33.

30. About Chi-tsang's attitude toward _AFM_, see Murakami Senshō, _Daijō kishin ron kōgi_, p. 23.

31. For the places where the three great commentators mention Aśvaghoṣa's name, see T. 1843, vol. 44, p. 175c, lines 11-12 (Hui-yüan); T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202b, lines 16 and 22 (Wŏnhyo); T. 1846, vol. 44, p. 245c, line 25f (Fa-tsang).

32. See the preface to _DKK-M_, pp. 1-5.

33. Ibid., pp. 5-7.

34. See _DK-U_, p. 133 and _DKK-M_, pp. 70-73.

35. See _DK-U_, p. 133 and _DKK-M_, pp. 70-73.

36. For Yen-tsung's record about _AFM_, see T. 2147,

vol. 55, p. 153c, lines 10-13.

37. The most exhaustive research about Paramārtha's career is contained in Ui Hakuju's "Shintai sanzō den no kenkyū" in Indo tetsugaku kenkyū (Tokyo: Kōshisha shobō, 1930), Vol. 6, pp. 1-130.

38. See DK-U, pp. 133-134.

39. See DKK-M, pp. 8-12.

40. See DK-U, p. 135.

41. For the Chan-ch'a ching, see T. 839, vol. 17, pp. 901c - 910c. For Mochizuki's argument on the Chan--ch'a ching, see DKK-M, pp. 14-18.

42. See ibid., p. 17.

43. All the major Chinese Buddhist cataloguers in the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, such as Fa-ching, Fei Ch'ang--fang, Tao-hsüan and Chih-sheng consider the Chan--ch'a ching a forgery. See Ono Gemmyō, "Gigikyō" (偽疑経), BKD, Vol. 12, pp. 446-481.

44. See T. 2154, vol. 55, p. 575c, line 17.

45. See DK-U, p. 135.

46. See DKK-M, p. 3.

47. Here "non-Buddhistic" means an attitude fraught with presuppositions or bias.

48. For Aśvaghoṣa, see Tokiwa Daijō, Memyō bosatsu ron, Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1905.

49. See DK-U, p. 137.

50. See Part One, note 17.

51. Almost all Buddhist scriptures of all Buddhist schools mention hsin 信 or faith. The following two passages are the most often quoted. The first is from Buddhabhadra's version of the Hua-yen ching; the second is from Kumārajīva's translation of the Ta-chih-tu lun.

(1) 信爲道元功德母 增長一切諸善根

Faith is the Origin of the Way and
the mother of merit;
It causes all the roots of goodness to grow.

(T. 278, vol. 9, p. 433a, lines 26-27)

(2) 佛法大海 信爲能入 智慧能度

In the great sea of Buddha's teaching
faith is that by which one can enter;
wisdom is that by which one can be saved.

(T. 1509, vol. 25, p. 63a, lines 1-2)

The following are notable papers on Buddhist faith by modern scholars: B.M. Barua, "Faith in Buddhism," in B.C. Law, ed., Buddhist Studies, pp. 329-249; N. Dutt, "Place of Faith in Buddhism," in B.C. Law, ed., Louis de la Vallée Poussin Memorial Volume, pp. 421-428; M. Saigusa, "Ryūjū ni okeru shin no mondai," IBK 3-2, 1955, pp. 297-299; K. Zawada, "Bukkyo ni okeru shin no honshitsu to sono kōzō," Bukkyō bunka kenkyū No. 9, March 1960, pp. 61-72.

52. As the title of the treatise implies, awakening faith is the central issue of the text. The Chinese

T'ien-t'ai master Chih-i's brilliant exegetical works amply demonstrate the importance of the title in Buddhist scriptures. See T. 1716, vol. 33, pp. 681-814.

53. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575b, line 15.

54. Ibid., line 16.

55. T. 2010, vol. 48, pp. 376b - 377a.

56. See D.T. Suzuki's translation, "On Believing in Mind" (Shinjin-no-Mei) in Manual of Zen Buddhism, (New York: Grove Press, 1960), pp. 76-82.

57. T. 2010, vol. 48, p. 377a, line 9.

58. Ibid.

59. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575b - 583b.

60. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 221b, line 22 - p. 221c, line 8.

61. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 581c, line 7.

62. See AFM-H, pp. 92-102.

63. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 581c, line 7.

64. For the meaning of aniyata rāśi, see AFM-S pp. 114 and 127.

65. See AFM-H, p. 92. Brackets are Hakeda's.

66. See AFM-S, p. 128 and also T. 1667, vol. 32, p. 590a, lines 20-21.

67. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 221c, lines 3-4 and T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 578b, lines 23-24. See also Okamoto Sokō, "Shinri gainen no kōzō--Daijō kishin ron ni okeru", IBK 3-2, 1955, pp. 138-139.

68. See _AFM-H_, pp. 92-93.

69. For the complete list of the six _pāramitās_, see the end of Chapter Three of _AFM_. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 581a, lines 20-26.

70. The passage in _AFM_ about Pure Land practice is found in T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 583a, lines 12-20. See also _AFM-H_, p. 102. The theory that holds that this passage is a later insertion can be rejected by adducing Wǒnhyo's understanding of _AFM_: (1) _AFM_ is a systematic work in which all the existing theories are synthesized; (2) _AFM_ is soteriological in purpose. See Takemura Shōhō's beautiful essay, which forms the appendix to his book _Daijō kishin ron kōdoku_, Kyoto: Hyakukaen, 1959, pp. 226-304.

71. For Wǒnhyo's Pure Land thought, see Sasaki Getsushō, _Indo Shina Nihon jodokyō shi_ (Tokyo: Bōbunsha, 1928), pp. 451-484.

72. Some Korean Buddhists like Han Yong-un (1879-1944), one of the most influential Korean Buddhist leaders of the early twentieth century, severely criticized the practice of Pure Land in Korea because of its Sǒn (Zen) orientation. This criticism indicates that it was popular to practice Pure Land Buddhism in Korea even in Sǒn monasteries. See my paper, "Sǒn (Zen) and Pure Land in Korea," in the Pure Land volume of the

Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, edited by Dr. Michael Solomon (in press).

73. In Christian theology, "assensus" means a belief or mental assent to some truth. See Van A. Harvey, A Handbook of Theological Terms (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 95-98.

74. Fiducia is understood to be the basic orientation of the total person. It may include belief, but it is best described as trust, confidence, or loyalty. See ibid., p. 95.

75. For the three kinds of fa-hsin 發心, see AFM-H, pp. 80-91. See also T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 580b, line 15 - p. 581c, line 5.

76. The necessity of a ten thousand kalpas long practice for the perfection of faith is repeatedly emphasized in AFM. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 580b, line 22 and p. 580c, line 1.

77. This emphasis in AFM on long practice might be considered evidence of Hīnayāna notions of practice in AFM. But it is better to consider it as a reflection of the synthetic nature of AFM.

78. The possibility of metamorphosis from hsin-hsin to fa-hsin 發心 is debatable. However, in Buddhism such a transformation is always assumed by those who accept the possibility of Enlightenment. See Nagao Gadjin,

"Denkan no ronri" (轉換の 論理), Tetsugaku kenkyū 35-7 (1952), pp. 449-476.

79. For the discussion of faith in relation to AFM, see DKK-T, pp. 226-304.

80. For Wŏnhyo's conclusion of the section on explaining the title, see T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 203b, lines 5-7.

81. The problem of fa-hsin 發心 is one of the most important issues in Wŏnhyo's thought. See his Palshim suhaeng chang, in WC, pp. 373-377.

82. The most comprehensive introduction to Wŏnhyo's career is Professor Lee Chong-ik's "Wŏnhyo ŭi saeng'ae wa sasang" included in his Tongbang sasang nonch'ong (Seoul: Poryŏngak, 1972), pp. 198-240.

83. T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 730a-b.

84. T. 2039, vol. 49, pp. 953c-1019a.

85. This inscription is included in Wŏnhyo chonjip, ed. by Mok Ch'ŏru et al (Seoul: Pulgyohak tong'inhoe, 1973), pp. 383-386.

86. Motoi Nobuo, "Shiragi Gangyō no denki ni tsuite", Ōtani gakuhō XLI, No. 1 (1961), pp. 33-52.

87. Ibid., pp. 34-41.

88. Ch'ae Inhwan, Shiragi Bukkyō kairitsu shisō kenkyū (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1977), p. 274.

89. T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 730a-b.

90. T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 709a, line 3.

91. T. 2039, vol. 49, p. 1006a-c. This text was translated into English by Ha T'ae-hŭng and Grafton K. Mintz in their *Samguk yusa*, Seoul: Yŏnsei University Press, 1972.

92. Actually there are several lines in Iryŏn's record where he tried to avoid Tsan-ning's record. See T. 2039, vol. 49, p. 1006a, lines 28-29.

93. The story about Wŏnhyo's return to his home country is illustrated in more detail in a passage from the biography of Ŭisang 義湘, also written by Tsan--ning. See T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 729a, lines 6-16.

94. T. 2039, vol. 49, p. 1006a, line 29 - p. 1006b, line 8.

95. T. 2039, vol. 49, p. 1006b, lines 11-16.

96. See Motoi Nobuo's chronological chart of Wŏnhyo's life in his article entitled "Shiragi Gangyō no denki ni tsuite," *Ōtani gakuho* XLI, No. 1 (1961), p. 50. See also Kim Yŏngt'ae, *Han'guk pulgyosa*, (Seoul: Chinsudang, 1970), pp. 51-52.

97. See Kim Yŏngt'ae, ibid., pp. 53-54.

98. T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 729a, lines 7-13.

99. Ibid., lines 13-14.

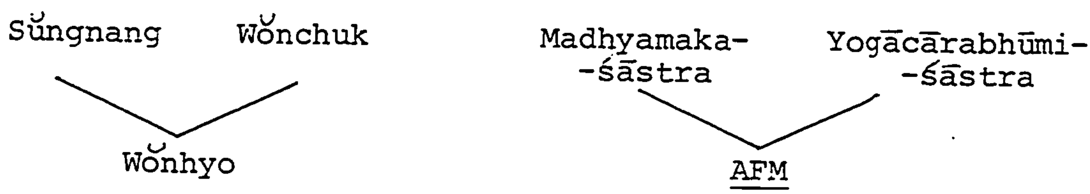
100. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 577b, line 22.

101. Park Chong-hong, *Han'guk sasangsa* (Seoul: Ilshinsa, 1966), pp. 28-59.

102. T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, lines 5-9.

103. Ibid., lines 9-12.

104. The relationship between Wŏnhyo with respect to Sŭngnang and Wŏnchuk is comparable to that of the doctrine of *AFM* with respect to those of the *Madhyamaka-śāstra* and the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, as the following diagram illustrates:



105. T. 2039, vol. 49, p. 1006a, line 29 - p. 1006b, line 7.

106. Ha T'ae-hŭng's translation, which is found in his book, *Samguk yusa* (Seoul: Yŏnsei University Press, 1972), pp. 306-307, is not faithful to the original text; therefore, we quoted him here with quite a few alterations.

107. It is not rare to see such cases in modern interpretations of Wŏnhyo's life. For example, see Ch'ae Inhwan, *Shiragi Bukkyō kairitsu shisō kenkyū* (Tokyo, Kakushō Kankōkai, 1977), p. 275, Yi Chong'ik, "Silla pulgyo wa Wŏnhyo sasang," *Tongbang sasang nonch'ong* (Seoul: Poryŏn'gak, 1975), p. 192 and "Wŏnhyo ŭi saeng'ae wa sasang," *Tongbang sasang nonch'ong* (Seoul: Poryŏn'gak, 1975), pp. 209-211.

108. See my discussion of Wonhyo's Bibliography in the next section of this thesis.

109. See *WC*, pp. 373-377.

110. See T. 2039, vol. 49, p. 1006b, line 11.

111. See *Lin-ch'i lu* in T. 1985, vol. 47, p. 496a, line 29.

112. See T. 2039, vol. 49, p. 1006b, lines 15-16:

皆識 佛陀之號
咸作 南無之稱
曉之化 大矣哉

113. See Motoi, p. 33.

114. See my discussion of faith in section two of Part One, "The Essence of the *Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun*."

115. See Part One, note 79.

116. Professor Park Chong-hong has described Wonhyo as a scholar who thinks clearly and logically. See his "Wonhyo ui ch'olhak sasang," in *Han'guk sasangsa* (Seoul: Ilshinsa, 1966), pp. 60-88.

117. The story about Wonhyo's motivation for writing his book is found in the biographies of both Tsan-ning and Iryon. See T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 730a, line 18 - p. 730b, line 19 and T. 2039, vol 49, p. 1006b, lines 21-24.

118. Wonhyo's preface to *Shimmun hwajaeng non*, which is included in the Kosonsa inscription, is found in *WC*, p. 383, line 12 - p. 384, line 1 and in *WC*, p. 303.

119. The most comprehensive work on Uich'on was done by Professor Cho Myong-gi. See his Koryŏ Taegak Kuksa wa Ch'ŏnt'ae sasang, Seoul, 1964.

120. Uich'on's catalogue is found in T. 2184, vol. 55, pp. 1165b - 1178c.

121. See Kim Yŏng-t'ae, Han'guk pulgyosa, p. 108.

122. See ibid., pp. 124-125; see also Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Kōraichō no daizōkyō," in Mansenshi kenkyu (chūseihen), 1937, pp. 483-614.

123. Uich'on says: 與三藏正文 垂之無窮 則吾願畢矣. See T. 1165, vol. 55, p. 1165c, line 27 - p. 1166a, line 1.

124. See HP-K, p. 125.

125. See Cho, pp. 90-134.

126. For example, the list of Wonhyo's works in Mok Chongbae's introduction to WC and Ch'ae Inhwan's bibliography of Wonhyo in his Shiragi Bukkyo kairitsu shisō kenkyu (pp. 278-287) are identical to Cho Myong-gi's. See WC, pp. 10-13.

127. The three volumes of Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku have been added to the Taishō Tripitaka. See Taisho volumes 98-100.

128. For the classification system, see KSL, pp. 580-581.

129. See Mizuno Kōgen, Butten kaidai jiten (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1977), pp. 55-56.

130. All the Āgama texts (T. 1-151) are included in the first and second volumes of Taishō.

131. See Ch'ae Inhwan, Shiragi Bukkyō kairitsu shisō kenkyū, (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1977), pp. 278-287.

132. Wŏnhyo wrote 21 books connected with Tathāgatagarbha thought. This is an indication of the importance he attached to it. For Wŏnhyo the notions of both Tathāgatagarbha and Ālayavijñāna do nothing but explain the relationship between the two aspects of One Mind.

133. Almost all modern scholarly works on Wŏnhyo agree that the Shimmun hwajaengnon 十門和諍論 is Wŏnhyo's most important philosophical work. See Lee Chong-ik, Wŏnhyo ŭi kŭnbon sasang (Seoul: Tongbang sasang yŏnguwŏn, 1977), pp. 10-14.

134. See ibid., pp. 21-56.

135. See ibid., pp. 1-2.

136. See WC, pp. 303-315.

137. The first book to treat this as a part of Wŏnhyo's preface to Shimmun hwajaengnon is WC.

138. For the funeral ode to Wŏnhyo, see Taegak kuksa munjip 大覺國師文集, included in Han'guk ŭi sasang tae-chŏnjip (Seoul: Tonghwa ch'ulpansa, 1972), pp. 420-421.

139. See WKS, p. 12.

140. See WKS, p. 1.

141. See WKS, p. 12, footnote 2.

142. See Park Chong-hong, _Han'guk sasangsa_, (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1974), pp. 148-177.

143. See ibid., pp. 178-232.

144. Even Professor Lee Chong-ik who wrote about Chinul for his doctoral dissertation in 1974 at Taishō University in Japan has not discussed the relationship between Wŏnhyo and Chinul.

145. "Pōjō Kuksa pimyŏng" or "The Inscription of National Master Pojo (Chinul)," written by Kim Kunsu in the thirteenth century, is the most detailed early record about Chinul but it does not yield any information about the relationship between Wŏnhyo and Chinul. Instead, it contains a lengthy description of the influence of Chinese monks on Chinul. See Kim Kunsu , "Pōjō Kuksa pimyŏng" in _Pōjō pŏbŏ_, translated by Kim T'anhŏ (Seoul: Pŏppowŏn, 1963), pp. 139-147.

146. See ibid., p. 139b, line 11. See also Kim Chi-gyŏn, ed., _Hwaŏmnon chŏryo_ (Tokyo: Seifū gakuen,1968), p. 1, line 8.

147. It might be of interest here to point out that when Chinul did mention Wŏnhyo he always treated him as a representative of the scriptural study tradition and as a laymen. This is in marked contrast to Ŭich'ŏn's attitude towards Wŏnhyo. Both Ŭich'ŏn and Chinul lived in the twelfth century, there being only fifty years

separating them. What then made the attitudes of these two prominent Buddhists differ to such an extent with respect to Wǒnhyo?

Although both were leaders of the Buddhist community of the day, Ŭich'ǒn was a popular leader with a scriptural orientation, whereas Chinul was a monastic leader with a meditative emphasis. Thus, although both were concerned with the harmonization of disputes, the context in which each had to function determined how each would approach and deal with his predecessor. Ŭich'ǒn, dealing with the Buddhist community at large, would emphasize the authority of his predecessor, whereas Chinul, addressing himself primarily to the Saṅgha, could not afford to do so, as Wǒnhyo had broken his vows and his authority for members of the Saṅgha could be challenged on that account. Thus, in referring to Wǒnhyo, Chinul had to make the kind of qualification about him his audience was sure to make if he did not--that Wǒnhyo was a layman. It is regrettable that neither Ŭich'ǒn nor Chinul explicitly discussed Wǒnhyo's theory; instead, Chinul replaced it with Hua-yen doctrine and the meditative experience of Enlightenment, while Ŭich'ǒn replaced it with the T'ien-t'ai theory of unity in meditation and study of the scriptures.

148. All extant works by Wǒnhyo are included in <u>WC</u>, edited by Mok Chǒng-bae et al.

149. See Park Chong-hong, "Wŏnhyo ŭi ch'olhak sasang," in _Han'guk sasangsa_ (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1974), pp. 85-127.

150. See Keel, Hee Sŭng, _Chinul, the founder of Korean Sŏn (Zen) tradition_ (Ph.D. thesis) (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1977), pp. 38-40. See also T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202b, lines 18-23.

151. For Wŏnhyo's idea of interpenetration in his commentaries on _AFM_, see T. 1844, vol. 44, pp. 202a-b and T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226a. See also Francis Cook, _Hua-yen Buddhism_ (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), pp. 56-89.

152. See T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, lines 4-12.

153. Wŏnhyo's focus in his double negation is on having people elevate from _aniyata rāśi_ to _niyata rāśi_. Therefore, Wŏnhyo's theory of double negation is used in his system as a theory of religious practice in which _fa-hsin_ is achieved.

154. According to Wŏnhyo, _AFM_ contains a good answer to the problem of how to realize interpenetration.

155. Keel, Hee Sung translated _T'ong pulgyo_ as "unified Buddhism" in his thesis. If that were correct, however, it would be incompatible with Wŏnhyo's disinterest in institutional organizations. See his thesis, p. 42.

156. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 20-24.

157. See ibid., p. 576a, lines 5-7.

158. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202b, lines 11-17.

159. See ibid., p. 202a, line 23 - p. 202b, line 4.

160. For a discussion of _T'i-yung_, see Shimada Kenji, "Taiyō no rekishi ni yosete," in _Tsukamoto Hakase kinen Bukkyo shigaku ronshū_ (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1961), pp. 416-430.

161. See T'ang Yung-t'ung, _Han wei Liang-Chin Nan--pei Ch'iao Fo-chiao shih_ (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1938), p. 333.

162. See _AFM-H_, p. 28.

163. For Śaṃkara see M. Hiriyanna's discussion of "Vedānta: Absolutistic," in _The Essentials of Indian Philosophy_ (London: Allen and Unwin, 1967), pp. 151-174.

164. See Whalen W. Lai, _The Awakening of Faith in Mahayana: A Study of the Unfolding of Sinitic Mahāyāna Motifs_. (Ph.D. thesis) (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1975), pp. 163-164.

165. See Keel's thesis, pp. 39-40.

166. Wŏnhyo's favorite term, _iŏn chŏllyŏ_ is first found in T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202b, line 6.

167. See ibid., lines 3-4; see also Part Two, note 18.

168. Ideas similar to Wonhyo's "wordlessness and no-thought" may be found in the _Lao tze Tao-te Ching_, (especially Chapters One and Twenty One), Bodhidharma's _Erh-ju_

ssu-hsing lun 二入四行論 and Seng-tsan's Hsin-hsin ming 信心銘. See Arthur Waley, The Way and its power (New York: Grove Press, 1958), pp. 141 and 170; D.T. Suzuki, Manual of Zen Buddhism (New York: Grove Press, 1960), pp. 73-82.

169. For Wonhyo's works on Pure Land Buddhism, see pp. 68-69 of Part One.

170. The Kosonsa inscription tells us that Wonhyo read secular books such as "The Book of predictions" and non-Buddhist books which have been rejected by the Buddhist world. See WC, p. 383, lines 11-12. Tsan-ning's Sung Kao-seng chuan also says that Wonhyo was imbued with three studies, i.e. Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. See T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 730a, line 9.

171. The Sŏnga kugam is one of the most popular Zen texts. See Han'guk ŭi sasang taejŏnjip 15 (Seoul: Tonghwa ch'ulp'ansa, 1977), pp. 39-68.

172. In the Samga kugam, Sŏnga kugam, Yuga kugam 儒家龜鑑 or Manual of Confucianism and Toga kugam 道家龜鑑, or Manual of Taoism are included. See ibid., pp. 68-76.

PART TWO

I. Introduction to Translation

The text used for this translation is the Zokuzōkyō edition of the _Tae-sŭng ki-shin-non so-ki hoe-bon_ (Z. vol. 71), roll 1, which will be referred to hereafter as _CE_ (_Combined Edition_). _CE_ includes the following texts: _Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun_ in one roll (Taishō No. 1666, vol. 32, pp. 575a-583b) attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, which will be referred to hereafter as _AFM_ (_Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna_); _Ki-shin-non so_ in two volumes (Taishō No. 1844, vol. 44, pp. 202a-226a) by the Korean monk Wŏnhyo (617-686), which will be referred to hereafter as _RC_ (_Running Commentary_); and _Tae-sŭng ki-shin-non pyŏl-gi_ (Taisho No. 1845, vol. 44, pp. 226a-240c) also by Wŏnhyo, which will be referred to hereafter as _EN_ (_Expository Notes_).

_CE_ has been selected because Wŏnhyo's commentaries are very difficult to follow if the appropriate passages from _AFM_ are not included with the commentaries for reference; _CE_ includes _AFM_ whereas the Taishō edition of Wŏnhyo's commentaries does not. However, the arrangement of _CE_ necessitates a retranslation of those portions of _AFM_ contained in the first roll of _CE_. It might be thought that such retranslation is hardly necessary in

view of the fact that *AFM* has already been translated a number of times. But Wŏnhyo's commentaries reflect his own understanding of each passage of *AFM*; no previous translation of *AFM* adequately reflects his understanding. Therefore, a retranslation of those passages of *AFM* with which Wŏnhyo is concerned in the first roll of *CE* is hardly avoidable.

In Korea, *CE* is the most popular text for studying *AFM*. The xylographs from which it was first printed in Korea are still preserved at Hae-in Monastery. The Haeinsa edition is identical with the Zokuzōkyō edition of the text published by Maeda Eun over the period 1905-1912 (Z. vol. 71). It is also identical with the Chin--ling-ke-ching-ch'u edition published in Shanghai, China, in 1899. According to *A Comprehensive Catalogue of Korean Buddhist Works and Materials* (韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄), compiled in 1976 by the Korean Buddhist Research Institute, Dongguk University, the xylographs preserved at Hae-in Monastery were carved on the basis of the Chin-ling-ke-ching-ch'u edition. If so, then, the earliest attested date of *CE* is 1899, which is the date found in the colophon of the Chin-ling-ke-ching--ch'u edition. However, none of the three editions (Haeinsa, Zokuzōkyō and Chin-ling-ke-ching-ch'u) gives any indication of who edited *CE*, nor what texts were used

as its basis. So far, the editor's identity has not been determined, nor when and where the texts used were collated in their present _Hoe-bon_ form. The only thing of which one can be certain is that the editor must have been a scholar of superior ability. This is easily discernible from the skillful way in which the three texts are intercalated. It is not, therefore, surprising that _CE_ is so popular in Korea.

Inasmuch as, outside of Korea, the Zokuzokyo edition of _CE_ is the most readily available edition of that text, I have chosen it as the basis for my translation. However, as _CE_ represents a collation of _AFM_, _RC_ and _EN_, and as the Taisho edition of those texts is more readily available than the Zokuzokyo edition of _CE_, citations of page numbers from the original text in the Notes refer to the Taisho edition.

Translations of Chih-k'ai's preface to _AFM_ and Kakugen's preface to _RC_ as found in the Taisho edition of _AFM_ and _RC_ follow my translation of the first roll of _CE_. Parentheses enclose any word or phrase not found from the Chinese but whose inclusion in the English translation is necessary for clarifying either the organization of the text or the meaning of a sentence for the English reader. Thus, parentheses enclose not only words or phrases added to a sentence, but section headings as

well. Where so much explanatory material is needed to clarify a sentence that its inclusion within parentheses would impair the readability of the sentence, that material is not included in the sentence and is not placed within parentheses. Instead, an explanation of the sentence is placed in a note. Notes are also used where my translation of AFM differs significantly from previous translations, and where it is necessary to justify the translation of a particular passage from Wŏnhyo's commentary because several different translations of that passage are possible.

Furthermore, it was sometimes found necessary to correct the original text itself, as certain passages are clearly corrupt, probably due to copyists' errors. For example, in line 7 of page 314-1a of the Zokuzōkyō edition, the character 離 li, "to depart," must be inserted between 者 che and 分 fen, otherwise the sentence makes no sense. Likewise, in line 9 of the same page the characters 不求 pu-chiu, "not to seek," must be inserted between 也 yeh and 名利 ming-li for the same reason.

Finally, a note on the format of this translation as it compares with the format of CE in Zokuzōkyō: in Zokuzōkyō, CE comprises pages of Chinese characters arranged vertically to form lines. Passages from AFM begin at the top of the page, RC is indented down the space of

one character, and EN is indented down the space of two characters. In this translation passages from the AFM are indented and printed in block capitals, but passages from RC and EN are not indented. Instead, they are preceded by the headings "Running Commentary" and "Expository Notes" respectively.

II. Translation

Treatise on Awakening Mahāyāna Faith,[1] Combined Edition[2] with the _Running Commentary_[3] and the _Expository Notes_,[4] Volume One

The Treatise was written by Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa,[5] translated during the Liang Dynasty by the Indian Tripiṭaka Master Paramārtha,[6] with running commentary and expository notes by the Korean monk Wŏnhyo.[7]

(Running Commentary)

This treatise will be explained in three parts.[8] The first reveals the essence of the doctrine; the second explains the title; the third clarifies the meaning of the sentences.[9]

I. On Revealing the Essence of the Doctrine[10]

The essence of Mahāyāna is generally (described as being) completely empty and very mysterious.[11] (However,) no matter how mysterious it may be,[12] how could it be anywhere but in the world of the myriad phenomena? No matter how empty it may be, it is still present in the conversation of the people.[13] (Although) it is not anywhere but in phenomena, none of the five eyes[14] can see its form. (Although) it is present in discourse, none of the four unlimited explanatory abilities[15] can describe its shape.[16] One wants to call (it) great, (but it) enters the interiorless and nothing remains. One wants to call (it) infinitesimal, (but it) envelops the exteriorless without exhausting itself. One might say it is something, yet everything is empty because of it. One might say it is nothing, yet the myriad things arise through it.[17] I do not know how to describe it; (therefore,) I am compelled to call it "Mahāyāna."[18]

Expository Notes[19]

How empty its essence is! Like space, it keeps

nothing at all private. How vast (its essence is!) Like the ocean, it is extremely impartial.[20] Because it is so impartial, movement and stillness alternate.[21] Because it keeps nothing private, the impure and pure are here alloyed. Because the impure and pure are alloyed, the absolute and conventional are equalized.[22] Because movement and stillness alternate, rising and falling are different. Because rising and falling are different, the way of prayer and response is open.[23] Because the absolute and conventional are equalized, the path of thinking is cut off.[24] Because thinking is cut off, the person who embodies it (i.e., who cuts off the path of thinking) rides shadows and echoes and is without impediment. Because the way of prayer and response is kept open, the person who prays transcends names and forms and returns (to the Source).[25] The shadows and echoes ridden[26] (by the person who cuts off thinking) are neither seen nor spoken. Yet, if names and forms have been transcended, what (can one) transcend? Where (can one) return? This is called the Supreme Principle, (even if it seems) not to be a principle, the Great Suchness, (even if it seems) not to be Suchness.27

(<u>Running Commentary</u>)

Who indeed, unless (one is) Vimalakīrti[28] (or) One-glance Hero,[29] can discuss Mahāyāna (in the state of)

wordlessness; (who can) awaken deep faith (in the state of) no-thought?[30] Because Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa (had) unconditioned great compassion,[31] he was distressed over those people whose minds, moved by the wind of ignorance and delusion, are easily tossed about. He was grieved that the true nature of Original Enlightenment which sleeps in a long dream is difficult to awaken. (Since Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa) had the power of wisdom (by which one regards others) as his own body,[32] he patiently wrote this treatise which expounds the deep meaning of the Tathāgata's profound sūtras. He wished to cause scholars who open this small treatise (even) for a moment to completely extract the meaning of the Tripiṭaka; (he wished to cause) practitioners to permanently stop the myriad (illusory) phenomena (and) in so doing finally to return to the source of One Mind.

Expository Notes

In this treatise there is nothing not established; there is nothing not refuted. (However, treatises) such as the Madhyamaka-śāstra,[33] the Dvadaśanikāya-śāstra,[34] etc., only refute all attachments and go on to refute the refutation. But (they) do not further admit that there is the refuter and that which is refuted. (Therefore,) these are called treatises which refute but are not complete.[35] (On the other hand,) treatises such as

the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*,[36] the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha-śāstra*,[37] etc., by penetratingly establishing (what is) profound and (what is) shallow, distinguish between teachings. But (they) do not reject the theories (they) themselves establish. (Therefore,) these are called treatises which affirm but fail to negate.[38]

Now this treatise (on awakening Mahāyāna faith) not only (contains) wisdom but also benevolence. (Its doctrine is) both mysterious and encyclopedic.[39] (Therefore, in it) there is nothing not established. However, (it ultimately) rejects (everything). (In it) there is nothing not refuted. However, (it) still admits (everything). "Still admits" indicates that if the refuter (carries) refutation to (its) extreme he will have completely established. "(Ultimately) rejects" clarifies that if an affirmer (carries) affirmation to (its) extreme he will have negated. This is why the doctrine of (*On Awakening Mahāyāna Faith*) is called the patriarchal teaching of all treatises; (this is why its author is called) the chief arbitrator of all controversies.[40]

(*Running Commentary*)

Although what is discussed (in the treatise) is vast, it may be summarized in (the following) words. By revealing two aspects in One Mind,[41] it comprehensively includes the 108 jewels[42] of the Mahāyāna teaching,[43]

and by showing the essential purity in phenomenal impurity,[44] it completely synthesizes the subtle truth of the Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanada-sūtra's fifteen chapters.[45] (The synthesis) includes (doctrines) such as (the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra's) teaching of One Taste preached at Śāla forest,[46] the (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra's) message of non-duality preached at Gṛdhrakūṭa,[47] the Suvarṇaprabhāsauttamarāja-sūtra[48] and the Mahāyānābhisamaya-sūtra's[49] (teaching of) Ultimate Result which is (stated in its) trikāya (doctrine),[50] the Avataṃsaka-sūtra[51] and the Ying-lo ching's[52] (teaching of) Profound Cause which is (stated in its) Four Stages (doctrine), the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra[53] and the Mahāvaipulyamahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra's[54] broad and vast (teaching of) the Ultimate Path, and the (teaching of) the secret doctrine's mysterious gate (expounded in) the Suryagarbha[55] and the Candragarbha[56] chapters of the Mahāvaipulyamahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra. It is only this treatise (i.e., On Awakening Mahāyāna Faith) which penetrates the essence of all these sūtras. Therefore, the following sentence[57] (from On Awakening Mahāyāna Faith) says,

> because this treatise aims at comprehensively embracing the limitless meaning of the Tathāgata's broad, great and profound teaching, it must be written.

Since such is the intent of this treatise, when unfolded, immeasurable and limitless meanings (are found

in its) doctrine; when sealed, the principle of two aspects (in) One Mind (is found to be its) essence.[58] Within the two aspects are included myriad meanings without confusion. (These) limitless meanings are identical with One Mind and are completely amalgamated (with it). Therefore, (it) unfolds and seals freely; it establishes and refutes without restrictions. Unfolding but not complicating; sealing but not narrowing; establishing but gaining nothing; refuting but losing nothing -- this is Aśvaghoṣa's wonderful skill and the essence of On Awakening Faith.[59]

However, the meaning of this treatise is so profound that interpreters hitherto have seldom presented its doctrine completely. Indeed, (this is) because since all of them were attached to what they had learned, they distorted the (meaning of the) sentences. Not able to abandon their preconceptions, still they sought the meaning. Therefore, (their interpretations) do not come close to the author's intent. Some hoped (to reach the) source but got lost in the streams; some grasped the leaves but forgot the trunk; some cut the collar and patched (it) to the sleeves; some broke the branches and grafted (them) to the roots. Now I (shall) directly correlate the sentences of this treatise with appropriate parts of the sūtras hoping (that my commentary) may provide some information to people on the same path.[60]

"On Revealing the Essence of the Doctrine" ends.

II. On Explaining the Title[61] (: TREATISE ON AWAKENING MAHĀYĀNA FAITH)[62]

On the word "MAHĀYĀNA"

"Mahā" is a name representing the dharma; it means broadly containing.[63] "Yāna" is a simile which designates carrying. Although (this) is (valid) as a general explanation (of "Mahāyāna"), if one investigates (its meaning further one) finds two ways of doing it. The first is an explanation based on the sūtras; the second is a clarification based on the śāstras.

A. The Explanation Based on the Sūtras

As the *Ākāśagarbha-sūtra*[64] says,

> Mahāyāna is so called because (it is) immeasurable, limitless and boundless, (because) it is ubiquitous, just as the simile of space (illustrates), because it is so broad and great that it accepts all sentient beings, and because it is not shared by Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. (Therefore, its) name is Mahāyāna.[65] Furthermore, as to *yāna* (vehicle),
> "Right Abiding in the Fourfold Comprehensive Practice of Accepting (all Sentient Beings)"[66] is the wheels (1);
> "Purifying Well the Tenfold Good Karmas"[67] is the spokes (2);
> "Purifying the Nourishment of Merit" is the hub (3);
> "Persistence, Purity and Concentration" is the tires, linch-pins, nails and cotter-pins (4);

"Achievement of all Meditation and
Liberation" is the axle (5);
"Four Boundless (States of Mind)"[68] is
the skillful control (of the horse) (6);
"The Master" is the charioteer (7);
"Knowledge of Timeliness and Untimeli-
ness is (what) starts the chariot (8);
"The Sermon on Impermanence, Suffering,
Emptiness and Non-self" is what whips
(the horse) (9);
"Seven Jeweled Skeins of Enlightenment"[69]
is the harness (10);
"Pure Five Eyes" is the bridle (11);
"Universal and Upright Application of
Great Compassion" is the pennant (12);
"Fourfold Right Effort"[70] is the
guard-rail (13);
"Four Applications of Mindfulness"[71] is
the (charioteer's) concentration (before
starting) (14);
"Four Bases of Psychic Power"[72] is the
(chariot's) rapid advance (15);
"Five Excellent Powers"[73] is gazing at
the target (16);
"The Eightfold Noble Path" is charging
directly (at the target) (17);
"Unimpeded Wisdom towards all Sentient
Beings" is the awning (18);
"Non-Abiding in the Six Perfections"[74]
is the turning toward perfect wisdom (19);
"Four Noble Truths of Non-Contradiction"[75]
is arriving at the Other Shore (20).
This is Mahāyāna.

Explanation: Through the above twenty phrases (the sūtra) illustrates the dharma using similes in order to clarify the meaning of "yāna."

Again the following sentence says:

All Buddhas enjoy this vehicle (1);
Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas observe
it (2);
all Bodhisattvas ride it (3);
it is fitting that world-protectors
like Śakra and Brahman revere it (4),
that all sentient beings worship it
with offerings (5),

> that all wise men praise it (6),
> (and) that (people in) all worlds
> return to it (7);
> no demons can destroy it (8);
> no heretics can imagine it (9);
> (no one in) all the worlds can
> compete with it (10).

Explanation: Through the above ten phrases about people, (the sūtra) clarifies (the meaning of) Mahāyāna.

B. The Clarification Based on the Śāstras

Some (śāstras list) seven (kinds of greatness); some (list) three. The concept of three kinds of greatness is explained a little later (in the treatise itself). The seven kinds of greatness are of two kinds. First, as the Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhā[76] says,

> It is called Mahāyāna because it corresponds to the seven kinds of greatness. What are the seven? (They are:) 1. (Buddha's) world is said to be great because the Bodhisattva's path takes the broad and great doctrines of the hundreds of thousands of innumerable sūtras as (its) world; 2. (Buddha's) practice is said to be great because he correctly performs all broad and great actions which benefit (both) himself and others; 3. (Buddha's) wisdom is said to be great because he comprehends the broad and great (principle of) no-self with respect to the ego-principle; 4. (Buddha's) effort is said to be great because he diligently performs countless hard actions using numerous expedient means during the course of the three great aeons; 5. (Buddha's) skillful expedient means is said to be great because he dwells neither in saṃsara nor nirvāna;

> 6. (Buddha's) Enlightenment is said to be great because he attains immeasurable and innumerable great merits such as all of the Tathāgata's powers, fearlessness and the eighteen Buddha-dharmas not shared (by ordinary people); 7. (Buddha's) acts are said to be great because until the world of saṃsara is extinguished (Buddha, in) showing (himself) everywhere, (in) bringing about wisdom, etc., will perform all of Buddha's broad (and) great work.

(Explanation:) In the above, the first five are causes; the next two are effects.[77]

Second, the Prakaraṇāryavāca-śāstra[78] says,

> It is called Mahāyāna because the nature of Mahāyāna indicates the Bodhisattvayāna which perfectly corresponds to the seven kinds of greatness. What are the seven? (They are:) 1. the greatness of dharma, which refers to the expedient, broad, and great teaching included in the Bodhisattvapiṭaka of the twelve divisions (of the Buddhist canon);[79] 2. the greatness of generating (wisdom) mind, which means that the mind of Supreme and Perfect Enlightenment is already generated; 3. the greatness of excellent understanding, which indicates excellent faith and understanding in the greatness of the dharma mentioned above; 4. the greatness of joyful mind, which means passing the stage of excellent understanding and practice (and) entering the joyful stage of pure and excellent mind;[80] 5. the greatness of nourishment: because of the achievement of the two kinds of nourishment--bliss (and) wisdom--Supreme Perfect Wisdom[81] can be attained; 6. the greatness of time, which indicates that Supreme

> Perfect Wisdom can be attained (at any time) during the three great incalculable aeons;[82] 7. the greatness of the achievement (i.e., Perfect Enlightenment), which means that there is no comparison between the wisdom of Supreme Perfect Wisdom and wisdom achieved by other (means) --how could (the latter) excel the former?

Both the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra[83] and the Bodhisattvabhūmi[84] (contain) explanations similar to this.

The Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra says,[85]

> Of these (seven kinds of greatness mentioned in the Prakaranāryavāca--sastra), the six kinds of greatness from the greatness of dharma to the greatness of time are the causes of the greatness of Perfect Enlightenment. The greatness of Perfect Enlightenment is the effect of the preceding six kinds of greatness.

Explanation: These two ways of grouping the seven kinds of greatness, although their numbers are identical, were established for different reasons. The reasons for their establishment, if sought, can be known.

The Explanation of Mahāyāna ends.

On the words "AWAKENING FAITH"

This treatise causes people's faith to be awakened, hence the words, "Awakening Faith." Faith is a term which indicates being certain. What is called (faith means) faith that the principle really exists,[86] faith that practice can get results, (and) faith that when

practice does get (results) there will be boundless merit. Of these, faith that (the principle) really exists is faith in the greatness of the essence (of Suchness). Because (we) believe that all dharmas are unobtainable, consequently, (we) believe that there really is the dharma--world of equality.[87] Faith that (practice) can get results is faith in the greatness of the attributes (of Suchness). Because (Suchness) completely possesses the merits of the essence which permeates (all) sentient beings, consequently (we) believe that because of the permeation of the attributes (we) are bound to return to the Source. Faith in the operation of boundless merit is faith in the greatness of the operation(of Suchness), because there is nothing (that Suchness) does not dc. If one can awaken these three faiths,[88] one can enter (the world of) Buddha--dharma, produce all merits, be free from all devilish states, and attain the Peerless Way. As the verse of the (Avataṃsaka-)sūtra says:

> Faith is the Origin of the Way and
> the Mother of merit.
> (It) causes all the roots of good-
> ness to grow;
> (It) extinguishes all doubts;
> (It) reveals the Peerless Way (and)
> makes (it) grow.
> Faith is able to transcend all
> devilish states.
> (It) reveals the Peerless Way of
> liberation;
> (It) is the indestructible seed of
> all merits;
> (It) produces the tree of Peerless
> Wisdom.[89]

Faith has such a limitless merit. Based on this treatise one can generate (wisdom) mind. Hence the words, "Awakening Faith."

(On the word "TREATISE")

What is meant by treatise is (a work) which treats a very profound theory and principle by making clear statements that can be followed. Based on the idea of treating, (such a work) is called a treatise.

In conclusion: "Mahāyāna" is the essence of the doctrine of this treatise; "awakening faith" is its efficacious operation. (Thus,) the title is composed (in such a way as) to show the unity of essence and operation. Hence the words, "Treatise on Awakening Mahāyāna Faith."[90]

III. On Clarifying the Meaning of the Sentences[91]

(STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS)[92]

The treatise is divided into three parts. (A) The first three lines (are) verses stating (the author's) intention to return to (the Three Treasures) with reverence. (B) (The words) after "(I) declare" properly comprise the main body of this treatise. (C) The last verse concludes with (the author's) turning (all merits toward all sentient beings).

(A. On the author's stating his intention to return with reverence to the Three Treasures)

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

Two intentions are (stated) in the first three verses. The first two verses (express) a direct return

to the Three Treasures.[93] The last verse states (the author's) purpose in writing the treatise.

(Treatise)

(OFFERING UP MY) LIFE,
I RETURN TO HIM WHO (PERVADES) ALL
THE TEN DIRECTIONS, WHOSE ACTS ARE
MOST EXCELLENT (BECAUSE) HE IS
OMNISCIENT,
WHO HAS FORM BUT IS UNIMPEDED AND
OMNIPOTENT--
THE GREATLY COMPASSIONATE ONE WHO
SAVES THE WORLD--
AND TO THE ESSENCE AND MARKS OF HIS
BODY, THE SEA OF DHARMA ESSENCE AND
SUCHNESS,
TO THE STOREHOUSE OF LIMITLESS VIRTUE,
(AND TO) THE REAL PRACTICES.

(Running Commentary)

(On the words "OFFERING UP MY LIFE, I RETURN TO...")

There are two (aspects to the verses on the author's) returning with reverence (to the Three Treasures with which the text) begins. The two phrases, "(offering up my) life" and "I return to..." are the returner's characteristics. (The part) following "(pervades) all the ten directions" indicates the merit of that to which return is made.[94] As to the returner's characteristics, "I return to..." has two meanings: "(I) revere and obey," and "(I) advance quickly toward." "Life" means the faculty of life, which controls all (other) faculties. The essence of the body is nothing but life, (which) is the lord (of the body). Nothing is valued by all living beings more than that (i.e., life). (Now,) by offering up this one life to the Supreme Lord,[95] (the author)

shows utmost faith. Therefore, (the author) said, "Offering up (my) life, I return to..."

In addition, "Offering up my life, I return to..." means to return to the Source. The reason is that although the six faculties[96] derive from One Mind, (they) repudiate (their) source and chase after the six objects.[97] Now, with (one's) whole life (one should) totally withdraw the six senses[98] (from their illusory objects) and return (them) to their origin which is the source of One Mind. Therefore, (the author) said, "(Offering up my) life, I return to..." Because the One Mind to which (one) returns is nothing but the Three Treasures, (one returns to it).[99]

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

(The part) following "(pervades) all the ten directions" indicates the virtues of (the Three Treasures) to which the author returns. At this point, the meaning of "Three Treasures" should be explained. (But its) meaning (will be) explained later.

Now, (let us) proceed to analyze the (rest of) the sentence, which mentions the Three (Treasures): (1) Buddha, (2) Dharma, (3) Sangha.

(1. On the Buddha Treasure)

(The part of the sentence) referring to (the Buddha) Treasure has three significations: (a) praising the excellence of (Buddha's) mind; (b) praising the excellence of (Buddha's) form; (c) concluding the praises of the person.

(a. On praising the excellence of Buddha's mind)

In praising the excellence of "Buddha's) mind, (one) is praising operation and essence.[100]

On the words "WHO (PERVADES) ALL THE TEN DIRECTIONS, WHOSE ACTS ARE MOST EXCELLENT"

This praises the operation of acts, which refers to the act of transforming sentient beings as made apparent by the eight marks[101] (of Buddha's life), etc. Throughout the world of ten directions,[102] by penetrating the three worlds of time (past, present and future, and) in accompanying all (beings) to be transformed, (Buddha) does all Buddha's work. Therefore, it is said, "who (pervades) all the ten directions, whose acts are most excellent." As the Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhā says,[103]

> (Buddha's) acts are said to be great because until the world of saṃsara is extinguished (Buddha, in) showing (himself) everywhere, (in) bringing about wisdom, etc., will perform all of Buddha's broad (and) great work.

That (text) illustrates (what is meant by "whose acts are most excellent" by referring to) the three (temporal) worlds; this (text, however) likens (what is meant by "whose acts are most excellent" to) the ten (spatial) directions.

On the word "OMNISCIENT"

This (word) extols the essence of wisdom. The

reason the operation of acts pervades the ten directions is that nowhere does the essence of his (i.e., Buddha's) wisdom not penetrate. The essence of wisdom pervadingly penetrates. Hence the word, "omniscient."

As the Mahāyānasaṃgraha-śāstra says,[104]

> Just as space penetrates all boundaries
> of form without the changes of arising,
> dwelling, (decaying and) ceasing,
> so also does the Tathāgata's wisdom,
> because it penetrates everything to be
> known without being distorted or changed.

On Praising the Excellence of (Buddha's) Mind Ends.

(b. On praising the excellence of Buddha's form)

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

There are also two aspects to this. "Unimpeded" extols the marvelousness of the essence of (Buddha's) form. The word "omnipotent" extols the excellence of the operation of (Buddha's) form.

(On the word "UNIMPEDED")

The foregoing words "essence of (Buddha's) form" (refer to) the Tathāgata's physical body which was acquired (as the result of performing) myriad actions and mysteriously permeates. (Therefore,) although (the Buddha) has marvelous form, (he) is unimpeded. Not one (of Buddha's) marks, not one (of his) excellences is bounded or limited. Therefore, the word "unimpeded" is applied. As the Avataṃsaka-sūtra says,[105] "If sought, the furthest limit of space could be found, (but even) one of Buddha's pores is boundless." Because Buddha's excellence is so mysterious, it is called the Tathāgata's pure wisdom.

Although unimpeded, (Buddha) does, however, have the aspects of (having) direction and location. Therefore, he acquired the name "(he who has) form but is unimpeded."

On the word "OMNIPOTENT"

(This word) extols the operation of (Buddha's) form. (This) means the mutual operation of the five faculties,[106] the mutual action of the ten bodies,[107] etc. Hence the words, "who has form but is...omnipotent." (What is meant by) the mutual operation of the five faculties is like the explanation (given) in the eighth chapter of the *Mahaparinirvaṇa-sūtra* on the eight omnipotencies.[108] (What is meant by) the mutual action of the ten bodies is like the explanation (given) in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*'s "Ten Stages" chapter.[109]

On Praising the Excellence of (Buddha's) Form Ends.

On the words "THE GREATLY COMPASSIONATE ONE WHO SAVES THE WORLD"

These (words) introduce (the third section of "On the Buddha Treasure," namely) on concluding the praises of the person.

(c. On concluding the praises of the person)

Buddha, like the great elder (in the third chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra*), regards (all) sentient beings as his sons and enters the burning house of the three worlds to save (the people who are) suffering in the fire.[110] Hence the words, "who saves the world."

The merit of saving the world (consists in) precisely this great compassion. It is compassion which does not distinguish between self and others. It is unconditional compassion. Of all compassions it is the most excellent; hence the words, "greatly compassionate."

Of the myriad virtues associated with the stage of Buddhahood, the Tathāgata uses only great compassion as (his) strength. Therefore, by solely referring to this, (this treatise) shows people (what) Buddha (is). As the Ekottarāgama says:[111]

> The strength of (people, be they) worldlings or saints, is of six kinds. What are these six? (1) Babies use crying as (their) strength. When they have something to say it is necessary that they should first cry. (2) Women use anger as (their) strength. Having become angry, they say what there is to say. (3) Monks and Brahmanas use patience as (their) strength. Having always considered themselves lower than others, they speak. (4) Kings use arrogance as (their) strength. Using this tremendous power they utter their pronouncements. (5) Arhats, using persistent effort as (their) strength, state their case. (6) All Buddhas, the World-honored ones, use great compassion as (their) strength inasmuch as they greatly benefit (all) sentient beings.

From this (we) know that all Buddhas use great compassion as (their) power exclusively. Therefore, in order to indicate (what manner of) man (Buddha is, the treatise) calls (him) "greatly compassionate one."

With the preceding three phrases, the praise of the Buddha Treasure ends. The next two phrases clarify

the Dharma Treasure.[112]

(2. On the Dharma Treasure)

On (the words) "AND TO THE ESSENCE AND MARKS OF HIS BODY"

(These words) refer to the Tathāgata's body, which was treated above. (This body) is nothing but the reward (body of) Buddha which (in turn) is nothing but the dharma realm. Therefore, (the treatise) says that (the dharma realm) is the essence and marks of his body. Thus, while (ostensibly) referring to Buddha, (the treatise is actually) alluding to his dharma. The next phrase (proceeds) to explicitly mention the essence and marks of the Dharma Treasure.[113]

On the words "DHARMA ESSENCE"

This indicates Nirvāṇa which is dharma's original essence; hence (Nirvāṇa) is called dharma essence. As the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra says:[114]

> Dharma is called Nirvāṇa because it lacks any sort of conceptual play; essence is called the original seed. For example, a gold bearing stone has the essence of gold while a silver bearing stone has the essence of silver.[115]

Just like this, in all dharmas there is contained the essence of Nirvāṇa. Hence the words, "dharma essence."

On the word "SUCHNESS"

"Such-" denotes (that there is) nothing to be eliminated; "-ness" denotes (that there is) nothing to be established.[116] As a later passage (from the

treatise) says,[117]

> This essence of Suchness does not have anything which can be eliminated because all dharmas are altogether real. Also, there is nothing which can be established because all dharmas are exactly the same. (One) must perceive that all dharmas are incapable of being explained or thought about. Hence the name "Suchness."

On the word "SEA"

(Here) dharma is clarified by means of a simile. Briefly speaking, "sea" has four significations: 1. great depth; 2. breadth and greatness; 3. (containing) all limitless treasures; 4. reflecting myriad images. (One) must realize that the great sea of Suchness is also like this, because it permanently terminates all mistakes, because it includes everything, because there is no merit which it does not possess, (and) because there is no image which does not appear (in it). Hence the words, "the sea of dharma essence and Suchness." As the Avataṃsaka-sūtra says,[118]

> Just like the deep, great ocean (in which) precious treasures are inexhaustible (and) in which all images and forms of sentient beings are completely reflected, (so in) the sea of very profound causes and conditions (there are) inexhaustible treasures of merit, (and) in the pure body of dharma there is no image which does not appear.

On praising the Dharma Treasure ends.

(3. On the Saṅgha Treasure)

The next two phrases praise the Saṅgha Treasure.[119]

On the words "THE STOREHOUSE OF LIMITLESS VIRTUE"

(These words) indicate people by referring to (their) virtue. That is to say, in performing one action, the Daśabhūmika Bodhisattvas,[120] (for example,) accomplish myriad actions. Each one of those actions is equal to the dharma realm and is limitless because it is the result of the accumulation of merits. Hence the words, "limitless virtue." Such virtue belongs only to Bodhisattvas, (yet) anyone can have (such) virtue.[121]. Therefore, (people) are called "the storehouse."

On the concluding words "REAL PRACTICES"

(These words) are in praise of the virtue of practice. According to the Mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra,[122] right, essential wisdom[123] is called real practice; wisdom which is obtained later[124] is called perfected practice. Now, the words "real practice" designate right, essential wisdom. The final "-s"[125] (of "practices") refers to wisdom which is obtained later. If (we) base (our interpretation on) the explanation (given) in the Dharmasangīti-sūtra,[126] then all the myriad practices from beginning to end are completely included in (what is meant by) the two phrases "real practice" and "diligence." As that sūtra says,[127] "real practice" refers to the vow of producing wisdom; "diligence" refers to the vow of fulfilling wisdom. Furthermore, "real practice" means to practice giving, while "diligence" means not to seek (its) reward. Thus,

by keeping the pure precepts, no-retreat is achieved; by practicing patience the seal of non-arising is attained; while seeking all roots of goodness there is no tiredness; by abandoning all conditioned affairs meditation is practiced without there being abiding in meditation; (and,) while accomplishing wisdom the conceptual play of dharma is not indulged in.

"Real practice" and "diligence" may be interpreted in this way. This could be explained at greater length. Here, the words "real practice" include the vow of producing wisdom up to (the vow of) fulfilling wisdom. The final "-s" (of "practices") refers to diligence, which is nothing but the vow of fulfilling wisdom up to (the vow of) not indulging in the conceptual play of dharma.

(The explanation of) returning with reverence to the Three Treasures ends here.

(Treatise)

> BECAUSE I WISH TO CAUSE SENTIENT
> BEINGS TO ELIMINATE DOUBTS AND FORSAKE
> WRONG ATTACHMENTS, AND IN ORDER TO
> AWAKEN (IN THEM) RIGHT MAHĀYĀNA FAITH
> SO THAT THE BUDDHA SEED NOT PERISH...[128]

(Running Commentary)

This (passage) states the basic reasons for writing the treatise. There are two basic reasons for writing the treatise, and no more. The first half (of this passage) illustrates (the author's desire) to save sentient beings; the second half demonstrates (his desire) to broaden

Buddha's way.[129]

Sentient beings fall into the sea of life and death for so long and do not hasten to the shore of Nirvāṇa only because of doubts and wrong attachments. Therefore, the essence of (what is) here (meant by) saving sentient beings is causing (them) to eliminate (their) doubts and forsake (their) wrong attachments. (Although) there are many avenues (of approach) to a general discussion of doubt, two things (specifically) are doubted by those seeking Mahāyāna. The first is doubting the principle, which prevents the production of (wisdom) mind; the second is doubting the method, which prevents practice.

The words "doubting the principle" mean creating this doubt: is the essence of the principle of Mahāyāna one or many? If it is one, then no other principle exists. Because no other principle exists, then no sentient being exists.[130] (Then) for whose sake should the Bodhisattva make the great vow?[131] If there are many principles, then there is not one essence. Because there is not one essence, the thing and I are separate (from) each (other). (Then) how can (one) get the great compassion (by which one regards others) as his own body to arise? Due to these doubts, (people) are unable to produce (wisdom) mind.

As to (what is meant by) saying "doubting the method," if the teaching method established by the Tathāgata is manifold, then according to which method should one

first start practicing? If all may be depended on, then (one) cannot immediately enter (the way). If (one may) depend on one or two, which is to be ignored and which is to be followed? Because of such doubts, (people) are unable to start practicing. Therefore, for the sake of eliminating these two doubts (the author) here establishes the principle of One Mind and reveals (its) two aspects.

Establishing the principle of One Mind causes that first doubt to be eliminated. (It) clarifies that the principle of Mahāyāna is only One Mind; apart from One Mind there is absolutely no other principle. Only because of ignorance are (people) deluded as to their own One Mind, which causes all (sorts) of illusion and transmigration through the six destinies to arise.[132] Although the waves of the six destinies arise, they do not exist except in the sea of One Mind. Indeed, it is due to the movement of One Mind that the six destinies are created. Therefore, it is possible to make the vow of saving all (sentient beings). (Also,) the six destinies do not exist except in One Mind; therefore, (one) can make the great compassion (by which one regards others) as his own body arise. (By thinking) like this (one) eliminates doubts and can produce Great Mind.[133]

The revelation of two aspects (in One Mind) removes the second doubt. It clarifies that although teaching methods are many, there are not more than two methods in

first beginning to practice. Based on the aspect of Suchness the practice of Tranquilization[134] is cultivated, and based on the aspect of arising and ceasing the practice of Clear Observation[135] is begun. If both Tranquilization and Clear Observation are practiced, myriad practices are thereby performed. If (one) embarks on these two methods, (one) is practicing all other methods. (By thinking) like this (one) eliminates doubts and can begin to practice.

On (the words) "FORSAKE WRONG ATTACHMENTS"

There are two (kinds of) wrong attachment: attachment to persons and attachment to concepts. A later part (of the treatise) will explain the meaning of forsaking these two.

(STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS)

(The first half of the passage illustrating the author's desire to) save sentient beings ends here. The following two phrases (demonstrate the author's desire) to broaden Buddha's way.

(On the words "AWAKEN (IN THEM) RIGHT MAHĀYĀNA FAITH")

By eliminating these two extremes of doubt (discussed above), one can awaken certain faith. (Then one can) believe and understand that Mahāyāna is only One Mind. Hence the words, "awaken (in them) right Mahayana faith."

(On the words "THE BUDDHA SEED NOT PERISH")

Having forsaken the previously (mentioned) discriminations (which arise as a result) of the two (kinds of)

attachment, (one) obtains the wisdom of non-discrimination, is born into the Tathāgata's family, and is able to take Buddha's place. Hence the words, "the Buddha seed not perish." As the treatise[136] explains, in the great sea of Buddha's teaching faith is (that by which one) can enter; wisdom (is that by which) one can be saved. Therefore, by mentioning faith and wisdom, (the author) clarifies (what is meant by) broadening Buddha's way.

At the beginning of the verse it says "because;" later, (at the beginning of) the concluding (part) it says "in order to."[137] (This) is in order to illustrate that (the author) had two reasons for writing this treatise.

"On (the author's) stating (his) intention to return with reverence (to the Three Treasures)" ends.

(B. On what comprises the main body of this treatise)

(STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS)

From here begins the second (part) of the treatise, which properly comprises its main body. There are three (sections) in this part. The first indicates the doctrine (which will be) established throughout (the treatise); the second enumerates the chapters; the third is the interpretation divided by chapter. (These) sections are (easily) discernible (from the treatise itself).

(1. On the doctrine which will be established throughout the treatise)

(<u>Treatise</u>)

(I) DECLARE[138] THAT THERE IS A PRINCIPLE WHICH CAN AROUSE THE ROOT

OF MAHĀYĀNA FAITH. THEREFORE, (I) MUST EXPLAIN (IT).

(Running Commentary)

The words "there is a principle" which begin the first (section of this part of the treatise) refer to the principle of One Mind. If people are able to understand this principle, they are bound to arouse the broad and great root of faith. Hence the words, "which can arouse the root of Mahāyāna faith." The marks of the root of faith are like (the description of faith given in) the explanation of the title. When the root of faith is established, (one) immediately enters Buddha's way. Having entered Buddha's way, (one) obtains inexhaustible treasure. Such a great benefit (can be) obtained if (one) relies on (the teaching of this) treatise. Therefore, (the principle) must be explained.

"On the doctrine (which will be) established throughout (the treatise)" ends here.

(2. On enumerating the Chapters)

(Treatise)

THE EXPLANATION IS IN FIVE CHAPTERS. WHAT ARE THE FIVE? CHAPTER ONE IS ON REASONS (FOR WRITING THE TREATISE); CHAPTER TWO IS ON ESTABLISHING (WHAT MAHĀYĀNA) MEANS; CHAPTER THREE IS THE EXPLANATION (OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MAHĀYĀNA); CHAPTER FOUR IS ON PRACTICING FAITH; CHAPTER FIVE IS THE EXHORTATION TO PRACTICE (INDICATING) THE BENEFITS (TO BE DERIVED THEREFROM).[139]

(Running Commentary)

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

(The words,) "is in five chapters" refer to the number of chapters. After (the words,) "what are the five)?" the names of the chapters are enumerated.

On (the first) chapter, "On Reasons (for Writing the Treatise)"

Without reasons, one (can)not begin (writing) a treatise, because the wise man must of necessity know first what is to be done (before he may do it).

On (the second) chapter, "On Establishing (what Mahāyāna) Means"

When reasons (for writing) have been stated, (one) should (then proceed to) establish the right meaning, because until (the meaning) has been definitively established, the essence of a doctrine cannot be known.

On (the third) chapter, "The Explanation (of the Principle of Mahāyāna)"

Once a doctrine has been precisely established, it must be followed by a comprehensive explanation, because where an explanation is lacking, meaning and principle are difficult to understand.

On (the fourth) chapter, "On Practicing Faith"

Based on the explanation (of the principle of Mahāyāna) faith will arise; (this faith) must (then) be put into practice, because to have understanding without practice is not in accord with the intent of (this) treatise.

On (the fifth) chapter, "The Exhortation to Practice (Indicating) the Benefits (to be Derived Therefrom)"

Even if shown the principle and methods for practicing faith, those whose roots of goodness are weak are unwilling to start practicing. Therefore, by indicating the benefits (to be derived from practice, the author) exhorts (those people) on the necessity of practice. Hence the words, "the exhortation to practice (indicating) the benefits (to be derived therefrom)."

3. On the interpretation divided by chapter

(STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS)

Beginning from here (the treatise) is (divided into) five chapters.

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

There are two (parts) to the first (chapter). The first is the title; the second explains the (reasons for writing).

(Treatise)

FIRST, (I SHALL) EXPLAIN THE CHAPTER ON REASONS (FOR WRITING THE TREATISE).

(Running Commentary)

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

In (the chapter) explaining the reasons (for writing) there are two (pairs of) questions and answers. The first (answer) is a direct explanation; the second eliminates doubts.

(a. The direct explanation)

(Treatise)

QUESTION: WHAT REASONS ARE THERE FOR WRITING THIS TREATISE?

ANSWER: THE REASONS ARE EIGHT.
WHAT ARE THE EIGHT?

THE FIRST CHARACTERIZES (MY) REASONS IN GENERAL. NAMELY, (I WRITE) IN ORDER TO CAUSE SENTIENT BEINGS TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM ALL SUFFERING AND OBTAIN ULTIMATE HAPPINESS: IT IS NOT BECAUSE (I) SEEK FAME, PROFIT OR RESPECT FROM THE WORLD.

THE SECOND IS BECAUSE (I) WANT TO EXPLAIN THE FUNDAMENTAL MEANING OF THE TATHĀGATA'S (TEACHING) IN ORDER TO CAUSE ALL SENTIENT BEINGS TO UNDERSTAND CORRECTLY AND AVOID ERROR.

THE THIRD IS TO CAUSE SENTIENT BEINGS WHOSE ROOTS OF GOODNESS ARE DEVELOPED TO UPHOLD THE TEACHINGS OF MAHĀYĀNA AND NOT BACKSLIDE IN FAITH.

THE FOURTH IS TO CAUSE SENTIENT BEINGS WHOSE ROOTS OF GOODNESS ARE SMALL TO PRACTICE FAITH.

THE FIFTH IS TO MAKE KNOWN AN EXPEDIENT MEANS THAT BREAKS THE BONDS OF EVIL KARMA, GUARDS THE MIND WELL, ELIMINATES FOLLY AND PRIDE, AND (ENSURES) ESCAPE FROM THE NET OF WRONG (THINKING AND BEHAVIOR).

THE SIXTH IS TO MAKE KNOWN (HOW) TO PRACTICE TRANQUILIZATION AND CLEAR OBSERVATION IN ORDER TO CORRECT THE MENTAL FAULTS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE AND HĪNAYĀNISTS.

THE SEVENTH IS TO MAKE KNOWN AN EXPEDIENT MEANS OF SINGLE-MINDED CHANTING WHEREBY (ONE MAY) BE BORN IN BUDDHA'S PRESENCE AND CAN BE CERTAIN OF NOT BACKSLIDING IN FAITH.

THE EIGHTH IS TO MAKE KNOWN THE BENEFITS OF PRACTICE AND THE EXHORTATION THERETO.

FOR SUCH REASONS (I MUST) WRITE (THIS) TREATISE.

(Running Commentary)

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

The question can be seen at the beginning (of the passage). The answer has three (parts): (1) the general signification; (2) the specific explanation; (3) the

general conclusion. Of the eight reasons (given) in the second (part), the specific explanation, the first characterizes (the author's) reasons in general (while) the next seven specifically describe (those) reasons.

(i. On the General Signification)

(<u>On the first reason</u>)

The words "characterizes...in general" in the (statement of the) first (reason) have two meanings: 1. all Bodhisattvas have things to do, all of which are in order to cause sentient beings to free themselves from suffering and obtain happiness. (This reason) is not (operative) solely in the writing of this treatise; hence the words, "characterizes...in general." 2. Although (with) this reason (the author) hopes to lead into the (second) chapter, "On Establishing (what Mahāyāna) Means," yet the chapter, "On Establishing (what Mahāyāna) Means," (was written) solely for the purpose of providing a basis for the (third) chapter, "The Explanation (of the Principle of Mahāyāna), etc. (Therefore,) this reason also leads into them. Therefore, on the basis of these implications (inherent in the first reason), a further understanding (of the words,) "characterizes...in general," (is possible).

The words, "to free themselves from all suffering," mean (to be free from) all suffering (caused by) change and discrimination.[140] "Ultimate happiness" (means) the happiness of peerless wisdom and the great liberation. Not seeking from the world (means) not hoping to enjoy the

wealth of men nor that of heaven in the next life. Not seeking fame, profit, or respect (means) not seeking things which are ephemeral, empty and false.[141] The next seven reasons are specific, because while (the first shows) only what provided the primary reason (for writing) this treatise, the next seven give the specific secondary reasons.

(ii. On the Specific Explanation)

<u>On the second reason</u>

The (third) chapter, "The Explanation (of the Principle of Mahāyāna), has three sections. (The second reason was established) to provide the reason for (the first) two (of these sections), namely, "Revelation of Right Meaning" and "Correction of Wrong Attachments." In "Revelation of Right Meaning" it says, "based on the principle of One Mind there are two aspects. Each of these two aspects completely embraces all dharmas." It must be known that (this) is exactly the fundamental meaning of all teachings uttered by the Tathāgata, because within this One Mind and two aspects there is not a single principle or signification not included. Hence the words, "because (I) want to explain the fundamental meaning of the Tathāgata's (teaching)."

The second (section of the third chapter), "Correction of Wrong Attachments," (was written) to cause sentient beings to forsake the two kinds of wrong attachment:

(belief in the own-being of) persons and (belief in the own-being of) dharmas. Hence the words, "in order to cause all sentient beings to understand correctly and avoid error."

On the third reason

(This reason was established) to provide the reason for what is said in the third section of the (third) chapter, "The Explanation (of the Principle of Mahāyāna)." That section, "Clarification of the Way to be Followed," (was written) to cause men of sharp faculties to produce (wisdom) mind without fail and advance along the Great Way,[142] and to make them capable of remaining in a state of not backsliding (in faith). Hence the words, "to cause (sentient beings whose) roots of goodness...not backslide in faith."

On the fourth reason

(This reason was established) to provide the reason for what is said about the four kinds of faith at the beginning of the next chapter, "On Practicing Faith," as well as (what is said about) the (first) four (of the five) practices. Hence the words, "to cause...to practice faith."

On the fifth reason

(This reason was established) to provide the reason for approximately five lines explaining the method of removing obstacles (occurring) after the end (of the

description of) the (first) four practices following the statement, "furthermore, even though a man practice faith, because he has obstacles (which arise as the result) of much heavy evil karma pursuing (him) from former lives..."[143] Hence the words, "to make known an expedient means that breaks the bonds of evil karma...and (ensures) escape from the net of wrong (thinking and behavior)."

On the sixth reason

(This reason was established) to provide the reason for approximately three parts (of the fourth chapter, "On Practicing Faith"), from (the line) stating, "how to practice Tranquilization and Clear Observation" to (the line stating), "if (either) Tranquilization or Clear Observation is wanting, then (one) cannot enter the way of Wisdom."[144] Hence the words, "practice Tranquilization and Clear Observation...Hīnayānists."

On the seventh reason

(This reason was established) to provide the reason for approximately eight lines encouraging (the desire) to be born in the Pure Land (occurring) at the end of the (fourth) chapter, "On Practicing Faith," following the statement, "furthermore, people beginning to learn this teaching..."[145] Hence the words, "to make known an expedient means of single-minded chanting whereby (one may) be born in Buddha's presence..."

On the eighth reason

(This reason was established) to provide the reason for the fifth chapter, "The Exhortation to Practice (Indicating) the Benefits (to be Derived Therefrom)." Hence the words, "to make known the benefits of practice and the exhortation thereto."

(iii. On the General Conclusion)

The final words, "for such reasons (I must) write (this) treatise," (constitute) the third (part of the first answer explaining the reasons for writing, namely, the direct explanation).

The direct explanation of the reasons (for writing) ends here.

(b. The elimination of doubts)

(Treatise)

> QUESTION: IN THE SŪTRAS THIS PRINCIPLE[146] IS PRESENTED IN DETAIL. WHY DO YOU HAVE TO EXPLAIN IT AGAIN?
> ANSWER: ALTHOUGH THIS PRINCIPLE IS PRESENTED IN THE SŪTRAS (I MUST EXPLAIN IT) BECAUSE PEOPLE'S CAPACITIES AND (ABILITY TO) PRACTICE ARE NOT THE SAME; CONSEQUENTLY, THE CONDITIONS OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE AND UNDERSTANDING ARE DIFFERENT. THAT IS TO SAY, WHEN THE TATHĀGATA WAS IN THE WORLD, PEOPLE WERE SHARP AND THE TEACHER WAS EXCELLENT IN HIS PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CONDUCT. THE PERFECT VOICE[147] SPOKE ONCE AND DIFFERENT KINDS (OF PEOPLE) UNDERSTOOD EQUALLY (WELL). CONSEQUENTLY, NO TREATISE WAS NEEDED. HOWEVER, SINCE THE TATHĀGATA'S DEATH (THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED): SOME (PEOPLE) ARE ABLE BY THEIR OWN POWER TO UNDERSTAND (THE TEACHING) THROUGH LISTENING EXTENSIVELY: SOME (PEOPLE) ARE ABLE, ALSO BY THEIR OWN POWER, TO UNDERSTAND MUCH THROUGH

> LISTENING A LITTLE: SOME PEOPLE LACK MENTAL POWER OF THEIR OWN BUT OBTAIN UNDERSTANDING THROUGH (READING) EXTENSIVE TREATISES. BUT THERE ARE ALSO SOME PEOPLE WHO, REGARDING THE WORDINESS OF EXTENSIVE TREATISES AS ANNOYING, PREFER GENERAL COMPENDIA TERSE IN STYLE BUT RICH IN MEANING, BY MEANS OF WHICH THEY ARE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND (THE TEACHING). THUS, BECAUSE THIS TREATISE AIMS AT COMPREHENSIVELY EMBRACING THE LIMITLESS MEANING OF THE TATHĀGATA'S BROAD, GREAT AND PROFOUND TEACHING, IT MUST BE WRITTEN.

(Running Commentary)

The (answer of) the second (pair of) questions and answers (in the chapter explaining the reasons for writing aims at) eliminating doubts. The words of the question, "In the sūtras this principle is presented in detail," mean that the principles upon which what is discussed in the preceding eight reasons is based, for example, from the principle (and its) meaning (in the second) chapter, "On Establishing (what Mahāyāna) Means," to the principle of benefit indicated (in the last) chapter, "The Exhortation to Practice (Indicating) the Benefits (to be Derived Therefrom) " -- all such principles are completely explained in the sūtras. All of them are (designed) to cause people to free themselves from suffering and obtain happiness. But still (the author) persists in writing this treatise and repeating what is explained in those teachings. How is he not to be regarded as seeking fame, profit, etc.? Because of this the treatise says, "Why

do you have to explain it again?" This creates doubt by raising a question. The answer has three (parts): (first,) a brief response; (second,) an extensive explanation; third, a brief concluding response.

(i. The Brief Response)

The words of the answer, "Although this principle is presented in the sūtras," refer to the (preceding) interrogatory phrase. (The words,) "capacities and (ability to) practice are not the same; consequently, the conditions of their acceptance and understanding are different," eliminate doubts. Although there is no difference between the principles expounded in the sūtras and (those expounded in the) treatises, nevertheless, the capacity and conduct of those (now desirous of) accepting and understanding (them) are not the same (as they were before). There are some who rely on the sūtras (but have) no need of the treatises; there are some who rely on the treatises (but have) no need of the sūtras. Therefore, for that (last group of) people (this) treatise must be written. Such is the intent of the answer.

ii. The Extensive Explanation

There are two (parts) to (the extensive explanation). The first clarifies the fact that when Buddha was in the world both teacher and audience were excellent; the second illustrates that after the Tathāgata's death (the people's) capacity and condition (to accept and understand the

teaching) were different (from what they were before). The words in the first (part), "when the Tathāgata was in the world, people were sharp," clarifies the excellence of the audience. (The words), "the teacher was excellent in his physical and mental conduct" illustrate the teacher's excellence. (The words), "the perfect voice spoke once" attests to the excellence of the speaker. (The words), "different kinds (of people) understood equally (well)" attests to the audience's excellence. (The words), "no treatise was needed" concludes (the explanation) of the meaning of excellence (by showing how it applies to) both (teacher and audience).

The words, "the perfect voice," (mean) nothing but the one voice, and the one voice (is nothing but) the perfect voice. What does this mean? Since ancient times the explanation of each scholar has varied (on this issue).[148] (One) scholar will insist that all Buddhas are nothing but the embodiment of the first principle in which the myriad appearances are forever terminated. Formless and soundless (itself, Buddha's voice, speaking) in direct accordance with (people's) capacities, manifests in limitless forms and voices, just as an empty valley, (itself) soundless, echoes in accordance with (the kind of) shout (uttered within it). Consequently, (when one) speaks (of voice) in reference to Buddha, (one must say that) no voice is one (voice). (But when one) discusses (voice) in reference

to (people's) capacities, (one must say that) many voices are not one (voice). What does this mean?

(The statement,) "one voice (is nothing but) the perfect voice" indeed results from the fact that at the same time and (at the) same assembly (people) of different levels understand equally (well). According to his capacity and nature each hears the one voice (he can understand) to the exclusion of the other voices (he does not understand), but (the assembly) is neither disordered nor confused. (This) illustrates the marvellousness of this voice. Therefore it is called one voice. (This) voice (also) pervades the ten directions according to the maturity of (people's) capacity (to understand); nowhere is it not heard. Therefore it is called perfect voice. It is not to be confused with the void which pervades everywhere but lacks a distinctive rhyme or tune. As a sūtra says,[149] "according to their level (of understanding), the voice informs sentient beings everywhere." This is what is meant (by perfect voice).

There is another explanation. (When one) speaks (of voice) in reference to Buddha, who really has form and voice, his voice is perfect. Nowhere does it not pervade. As (in his voice) there is no difference at all between C and D (of the pentatonic scale),[150] where is there to be found (from his voice) the distinction between the even and the rising (tones)?[151] Because it does not vary

its tune it is called "one voice." Because there is nothing it does not pervade it is spoken of as perfect voice. Only due to this perfect voice are additional conditions[152] (for understanding) created. According to the difference in (people's) capacities it appears as many voices, just as a full moon has only one round shape but appears as many images inasmuch as the containers (of water reflecting it) are different. (One) should know that the principle in question here is the same. As a sūtra says,[153] "Buddha expounds the dharma with one voice, but each person understands (it) according to his level (of understanding).

There is another explanation. The Tathāgata actually has many voices. (Therefore,) all people's voices are not excluded from the Tathāgata's voice which (turns) the wheel of the Law. Only Buddha's voice is unhindered and unobstructed. (Therefore, in him) one is everything and everything is one.[154] Since (in him) everything is one, (his) is called the one voice. Since (in him) one is everything, (his) is called the perfect voice. As the Avataṃsaka-sūtra says,

> The way every sentient being (regards) spoken language is that once a word is spoken it is exhausted; nothing is left. Therefore, if he truly desires to completely understand the pure and subtle voice (of the Tathāgata), the Bodhisattva will first produce (wisdom) mind."[155]

Moreover, Buddha's voice is unimaginable and indescribable. One voice, when it speaks, is not only every voice, it also pervades everything equally. Now (let me) briefly indicate the six pairs which illustrate the marks of its equally pervading.

First, (Buddha's one voice) equally (pervades) all sentient beings and all things;

Second, (it) equally (pervades) all lands in the ten directions and all kalpas in the three time periods;[156]

Third, (it) equally (pervades) the Tathāgata's entire response-body and Buddha's entire transformation-body;[157]

Fourth, (it) equally (pervades) all dharma worlds and the world of space;

Fifth, (it) equally (pervades) the world of unhindered mutual entering[158] and the world of limitless production;[159]

Sixth, (it) equally (pervades) the world of every action and the world of tranquility and liberation.[160]

(I) have explained these concepts following the Avataṃsaka-sūtra's three kinds of no-hindrance (doctrine).[161] Each sound equally (pervades) these six pairs, but the voice is never confused.

If there were something (described) in (one of) these six pairs which the one voice did not pervade, then (it would simply be) voice; it would not be perfect. If, due to the fact that it equally pervades (the things described

in the six pairs, the voice) were to lose its tune, then (it would simply be) perfect; it would not be (one) voice. But in the present case (i.e., Buddha's) the tune is not destroyed yet (the voice) pervades (everything) equally; (the voice) does not stop pervading (everything equally) yet the rhyme (remains) distinct. Due to this principle (Buddha's voice) actually becomes perfect voice. This is not something to be fathomed by the thinking of the (ordinary) mind or consciousness because it is what is meant by the freedom of (Buddha's) Dharma body. Briefly speaking, this is what is meant by "one voice." But (let us) forego further discussion (of this point) and return (to the task of) interpreting the original sentences (of the treatise).[162]

After this (i.e., the first part of the extensive explanation, clarifying the fact that when Buddha was in the world both teacher and audience were excellent,) the second part (of the extensive explanation begins,) clarifying the fact that after Buddha's death (people's) capacities and actions were different (than they were before). Concerning this fact (one can) specifically discover (people having) four kinds of capacity. The first two are those who obtain understanding through relying on the sūtras; the next two are those who rely on the treatises and then obtain understanding. The words, "are able by their own power to understand (the teaching) through

listening extensively," (refer to) the first (kind of person) who, since (he) understands the Buddha's meaning through listening to extensive sūtras, does not need the treatises. Hence the words, "their own power." The words, "some (people) are able, also by their own power, to understand much through listening a little," (refer to) the second (kind of person) who, although not needing to listen extensively to the sentences of all the sūtras, is able profoundly to understand the meaning of the sūtras. (This kind of person) also does not need the treatises. Hence the words, "their own power." The words, "some people lack mental power of their own," (refer to) the third (kind of person) who, if (he) relies directly on the Buddhist sūtras, cannot understand (the teaching). Hence the words, "lack...power." (But) with the help of (treatises such as) the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra,[163] the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra,[164] etc., (this kind of person) can actually understand the meaning of what is expounded in the sūtras. Hence the words, "but obtain understanding through (reading) extensive treatises." The words, "But there are also some people who, regarding the wordiness of extensive treatises as annoying..." (refer to) the fourth (kind of person) who, although sharp, (can)not endure the prolix. These people only rely on treatises whose style is concise but whose meanings are plentiful in order to deeply understand the message expounded in the

Buddhist sūtras. Hence the words, "prefer general compendia terse in style but rich in meaning, by means of which they are able to understand (the teaching)." Of these four (kinds of people), the first three (are not the kind of people for whom) the present (treatise) was written. What is written here is for the fourth (kind of) person.

(iii. The General Conclusion)

Following (the word) "thus" (there begins) the third (part of the answer), the general conclusion. The word "thus" indicates all four kinds of people (mentioned) previously. (The rest of the sentence,) following (the word) "treatise," is specifically directed towards the fourth (kind of) person and conclusively clarifies the necessity of writing the treatise. Now, this treatise (fills) only one roll, (but) it contains the meaning of all the sūtras without exception. Hence the words, "because (this treatise aims at) comprehensively embracing the limitless meaning of the Tathāgata's broad, great and profound teaching..." That fourth type (of person) prefers the general compendium class (of writings). Relying only on a treatise (like) this (he) then can awaken to the Way. Because of this, therefore, (the author) says, "this treatise...must be written."

(<u>Treatise</u>)

> (I) HAVE EXPLAINED THE CHAPTER ON
> REASONS (FOR WRITING THE TREATISE).
> NEXT (I SHALL) EXPLAIN THE CHAPTER

ON ESTABLISHING (WHAT MAHĀYĀNA) MEANS. IN GENERAL, THERE ARE TWO WAYS OF EXPLAINING (THE TERM) "MAHĀYĀNA." WHAT ARE THE TWO? THE FIRST IS (ACCORDING TO ITS) PRINCIPLE; THE SECOND IS (ACCORDING TO ITS) SIGNIFICATIONS. THE WORD "PRINCIPLE" MEANS THE MIND OF SENTIENT BEINGS. THIS MIND EMBRACES ALL DHARMAS IN THE MUNDANE AND SUPRAMUNDANE WORLDS. ON THE BASIS OF THIS MIND THE MEANING OF MAHĀYĀNA IS REVEALED. WHY? BECAUSE THE SUCHNESS ASPECT OF THIS MIND SHOWS THE ESSENCE OF MAHĀYĀNA, (WHILE) THE CAUSAL AND CONDITIONAL ASPECT OF THE ARISING AND CEASING OF THIS MIND CAN SHOW THE ATTRIBUTES AND OPERATION OF MAHĀYĀNA'S ESSENCE ITSELF.

THE SIGNIFICATIONS (OF MAHĀYĀNA) ARE THREE IN NUMBER. WHAT ARE THE THREE? FIRST IS THE GREATNESS OF (ITS) ESSENCE, WHICH MEANS THAT BECAUSE THE SUCHNESS OF ALL DHARMAS IS EQUAL, (IT) NEITHER INCREASES NOR DECREASES. SECOND IS THE GREATNESS OF (ITS) ATTRIBUTES, WHICH MEANS THAT THE MATRIX OF TATHĀGATA IS COMPLETELY FILLED WITH THE IMMEASURABLE VIRTUES OF (BUDDHA) NATURE. THIRD IS THE GREATNESS OF (ITS) OPERATION, WHICH MEANS (THAT MAHĀYĀNA) CAN GENERATE ALL GOOD CAUSES AND EFFECTS IN THE MUNDANE AND SUPRAMUNDANE WORLDS.

BECAUSE (IT IS WHAT) ALL BUDDHAS WITHOUT EXCEPTION HAVE ORIGINALLY RIDDEN, AND BECAUSE ALL BODHISATTVAS WITHOUT EXCEPTION USE THIS PRINCIPLE TO REACH THE STAGE OF TATHĀGATA, (IT IS CALLED A VEHICLE).[165]

(Running Commentary)

The second chapter (of the treatise), "On Establishing (What Mahāyāna) Means," has two (parts). The first concludes the previous and begins the subsequent (discussion). The second (part) follows (the word) "Mahā(yāna)" and is the correct explanation which establishes the two aspects, namely, the principle and the significations. "Principle"

is the essential principle (indicated by the term) Mahāyāna; "significations" (indicates) the meaning of (the term) "Mahāyāna."

The principle, which is (mentioned) in the first (part of) "On Establishing (What Mahāyāna Means)," initiates the part (of my commentary) on the essential principle, (which will be) explained first in the following explanation. The significations, which are (mentioned) in the second (part of) "On Establishing (What Mahāyāna Means)," initiate the part (of my commentary) on explaining the significations, beginning with "furthermore, the attributes of Suchness itself..." Concerning the principle, which (I shall) explain first, there are two more (principles) to be explained: the first is a general definition referring to the essence which begins the general explanation (appearing) first in the following explanation; the second is a specific definition based on the aspects which begins the specific explanation, beginning with the word "Suchness" in the following (explanation).

(The words) at the beginning, "the word 'principle' means the mind of sentient beings," (mean that Mahāyāna) itself is named as principle. Now, in (the teaching) of Mahāyāna, no entity has an essence different (from that of any other entity); (all of them) use One Mind as their essence. Hence the words, "'principle' means the mind of

sentient beings." The words, "this Mind embraces all" clarify that the principle of Mahāyāna is different from that of Hīnayāna.[166] Indeed, due to the fact that this Mind penetrates and embraces all entities, all entities themselves are simply One Mind. This is quite different from the Hīnayāna (principle) that all entities each have their own essence. Therefore, (the author) explains that One Mind is the principle of Mahāyāna.

(<u>On the words, "ON THE BASIS OF THIS MIND, THE MEANING OF MAHĀYĀNA IS REVEALED</u>")

(The passage) following the question, "Why?"[167] (consists of) specifically establishing (the meaning of Mahāyāna) on the basis of (its) aspects. This sentence ("On the basis of this Mind...") contains two meanings: (1) (the author) hopes that what precedes (it) will explain the meaning (of Mahāyāna) in general; (2) (he) hopes that what follows (the word, "Why?") will establish the specific aspects (of One Mind). Although Mind and dharmas are one, the meaning of "Mahāyāna" is broad. (One might ask,) "by what means, therefore, is the meaning of Mahāyāna directly to be revealed on the basis of this Mind?" Hence the word, "Why?"

What follows (the word "Why?") explains the meaning (of Mahāyāna) by saying that although Mind and dharmas are one, nevertheless, (One Mind) has two aspects. The aspect of Suchness contains the essence of Mahāyāna; the

aspect of arising and ceasing contains (its) essence, attributes and operation. The meaning of Mahāyāna is not beyond these three. Therefore, it is on the basis of One Mind that the meaning of Mahāyāna is revealed.

On the words, "SUCHNESS...OF THIS MIND"

(This) is a general reference to the aspect of Suchness, which will introduce the subsequent (part of the treatise) beginning with the passage, "...is nothing but One Dharma World."[168]

On the next word, "ASPECT"

(This word) refers to the marks of Suchness which will introduce the subsequent (part of the treatise) beginning with the passage, "furthermore, according to a linguistic analysis (of the term), there are two aspects."[169]

On the words, "ARISING AND CEASING OF THIS MIND"

(This) is a general reference to the aspect of arising and ceasing, which will introduce the subsequent (part of the treatise) beginning with the passage,[170] "on the basis of the matrix of Tathāgata, there exists the mind of arising and ceasing."

On the words, "CAUSAL AND CONDITIONAL"

(These words) refer to the causes and conditions of arising and ceasing, which will introduce the subsequent (part of the treatise) beginning with the passage,[171] "furthermore, the causes and conditions of arising and ceasing..."

On the next word, "ASPECT"

(This word) refers to the aspect of arising and ceasing which will introduce the subsequent (part of the treatise) beginning with the passage,[172] "furthermore, arising and ceasing..."

On the words, "...CAN SHOW...MAHĀYĀNA'S ESSENCE ITSELF"

(These words) refer to the mind of Original Enlightenment within the aspect of arising and ceasing. (It) is both the essence and the cause of arising and ceasing. Therefore, it is present within the aspect of arising and ceasing. Although the essence of Mahāyāna is explicitly spoken of in (connection with) the aspect of Suchness, (that) selfsame essence is now discussed in (connection with) the aspect of arising and ceasing. There is a profound reason (for this). Its significance will be clarified (in the) subsequent (part of my) interpretation.

On the words, "ATTRIBUTES AND OPERATION"

(These words) have two meanings. First, (the causal and conditional aspect of this Mind's arising and ceasing) can show the attributes of (Buddha) nature's immeasurable virtues (found) in the matrix of Tathāgata, which is nothing but what is meant by the greatness of the attributes (of Mahāyāna). Again, (the causal and conditional aspect of this Mind's arising and ceasing) shows the unimaginable and indescribable karmic operation of the matrix of Tathāgata. This is what is meant by the greatness of the

operation (of Mahāyāna).

Second, the attributes of what is made impure by Suchness are called the attributes (of Mahāyāna); the operation of what is rendered pure by Suchness is called (its) operation. As a subsequent passage (from the treatise) says,[173]

> THE PURE DHARMA OF SUCHNESS IS REALLY LACKING IN IMPURITY. IT IS ONLY BECAUSE OF PERMEATION BY IGNORANCE THAT IT HAS THE ATTRIBUTES OF IMPURITY. THE IMPURE DHARMA OF IGNORANCE IS ORIGINALLY LACKING IN PURITY. IT IS ONLY BECAUSE OF PERMEATION BY SUCHNESS THAT IT HAS THE OPERATION OF PURITY.

"Section on Establishing the Principle" ends here.

(Section on Establishing the Significations)

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

From here the second section, "On Establishing the Significations," begins, which also contains two (subsections): the first clarifies the meaning of "mahā" ("great"); the second illustrates the meaning of "yāna" ("vehicle"). This (section) also serves to introduce the subsequent part (of my) interpretation[174] (explaining the principle of Mahāyāna). On arriving at that point, again (the treatise and my interpretation) will be made to correlate with each other.

Of the (three) significations of "mahā," the greatness of essence is found in the aspect of Suchness; the two greatnesses of attributes and operation are found in the aspect of arising and ceasing. Within the aspect of arising and ceasing is contained the essence (of Mahāyāna) itself.

Only because (at this point in the treatise discussion of) the essence is subordinated to (discussion of) the attributes, (I will) not specifically discuss it (at this point in my commentary either).

On the words, "THE MATRIX OF TATHĀGATA IS COMPLETELY FILLED WITH THE IMMEASURABLE VIRTUES OF (BUDDHA) NATURE"

Of the (first) two kinds of matrix, (these words refer to) the matrix of Tathāgata which is non-empty, and of the (second) two kinds of matrix, (these words refer to) the matrix of Tathāgata (which denotes that sentient beings) contain (the Tathāgata within them).[175] The signification of the virtues of (Buddha) nature and the signification of the greatness of operation shall be analyzed in detail in a later (part of my) interpretation.[176]

Two phrases (of the treatise explain) the significations of "yāna": (1) "Because (it is what) all Buddhas without exception have originally ridden"[177] explains the signification of "yāna" by indicating the effect of (placing one's) hopes (in such a) cause; (2) "because all Bodhisattvas without exception use this principle to reach the stage of Tathāgata"[178] explains the signification of "yāna" by documenting the cause for hoping (for such) an effect.

(On the Third Chapter, "The Explanation of the Principle of Mahāyāna")

(STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS)

In the third chapter, "The Explanation (of the Principle of Mahāyāna)," there are also two sections: the first concludes the previous (section) and initiates the following (section); the second is the correct explanation. The correct explanation contains three (subsections): first, a general indication by (simple) enumeration; second, enumeration of the sections; third, a specific explanation chapter by chapter.

(Treatise)

> (I) HAVE FINISHED EXPLAINING THE CHAPTER ON ESTABLISHING (WHAT MAHĀYĀNA) MEANS. NEXT (I SHALL) EXPLAIN THE CHAPTER ON THE EXPLANATION (OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MAHĀYĀNA). THE CHAPTER ON THE EXPLANATION (OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MAHĀYĀNA DISCUSSES) THREE (THINGS). WHAT ARE THE THREE? FIRST, THE REVELATION OF RIGHT MEANING; SECOND, THE CORRECTION OF WRONG ATTACHMENTS; THIRD, THE EXAMINATION OF THE WAY TO BE FOLLOWED.[179]

(Running Commentary)

In this chapter, the section on the revelation of right meaning correctly explains what was established in the chapter on establishing (what Mahāyāna) means. (The sections) on the correction of wrong attachments and the way to be followed clarify the method of leaving the wrong and adhering to the right.

(CONTENT ANALYSIS)

In the specific explanation (chapter by chapter) there are three sections. In the first section, which explains the revelation of right meaning, there are two major (subsections): the first correctly explains the meaning; the second shows the method of entering (the Way). In the correct explanation (of the meaning), on the basis of (the structure elucidated) above, there are two (further subsections): the first explains the aspects (mentioned in) the section on principle; the second explains the aspects (mentioned in) the section on significations. The first (further subsection) also contains two (further

subsections): the first, a general explanation, explains (what is) generally established in the preceding (subsection); the second, a specific explanation, explains (what is) specifically established in the preceding (subsection).[180]

(Treatise)

> REVEALING THE RIGHT MEANING (MEANS THAT) BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE MIND THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS. WHAT ARE THE TWO? THE FIRST IS MIND'S SUCHNESS ASPECT; THE SECOND IS MIND'S ARISING AND CEASING ASPECT. THESE TWO ASPECTS EACH WITHOUT EXCEPTION COMPLETELY EMBRACE ALL DHARMAS. WHAT DOES THIS SIGNIFY? (IT SIGNIFIES THAT) THESE TWO ASPECTS ARE INSEPARABLE FROM ONE ANOTHER.[181]

(Running Commentary)

On the words of the first (sentence) "BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE MIND THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS"

As a sūtra says,[182] "tranquilization is termed 'One Mind;' One Mind is termed 'matrix of Tathāgata.'"

On the words "MIND'S SUCHNESS ASPECT"

(These words) explain (this part of the foregoing quotation from) that sūtra:[183] "tranquilization is termed 'One Mind.'"

On (the words) "MIND'S ARISING AND CEASING ASPECT"

These (words) explain (this part of the foregoing quotation) from the sūtra: "One Mind is termed 'matrix of Tathāgata.'"

(On tranquilization's being termed "One Mind")

(Tranquilization is termed "One Mind") because all dharmas neither arise nor cease; (they are) originally

tranquil. (Therefore, they are) nothing but One Mind. Thus (this aspect) is called Mind's Suchness aspect. Hence the words, "tranquilization is termed 'One Mind.'"

(On One Mind's being termed "matrix of Tathāgata")

Again, the essence of this One Mind is Original Enlightenment, but (its operation), responding to ignorance, creates arising and ceasing. Therefore, in this aspect (of arising and ceasing) the Tathāgata's nature is hidden; it does not make (itself) manifest. (Hence,) it is called "matrix of Tathāgata." As a sūtra says,[184]

> "The matrix of Tathāgata is the cause of good and bad; (therefore,) it is able everywhere to create beings in all the destinies. (This may be) compared to an actor's transforming (his appearance) and appearing (in the guise of) any (being in any one of the six) destinies."

Such meanings as these are to be found in the aspect of arising and ceasing. Hence the words, "One Mind is termed 'matrix of Tathāgata.'"

These (words also) reveal One Mind's arising and ceasing aspect. As a subsequent passage (in the treatise) says,[185] "(what is meant by) Mind's arising and ceasing is that based on the matrix of Tathāgata there is the mind of arising and ceasing..." (and so on,) up to "this consciousness has two significations: first, the signification of Enlightenment; second, the signification of un-Enlightenment."[186] It must be known that not only is the

mind of arising and ceasing to be taken as the aspect of arising and ceasing, (but it is also) to be fully taken as both the essence of arising and ceasing itself as well as the attributes of arising and ceasing. Both significations are inherent in the aspect of arising and ceasing.[187]

(On the term "One Mind")

If the two aspects are like this, what (could) One Mind (possibly) be? It is said, "the nature of all pure and impure dharmas is not two;" (also,) "the two aspects of truth and falsity cannot be different."[188] Hence it is called "One." At this point of non-duality all dharmas are completely real. This is quite different from space: (Buddha) nature knows (everything) miraculously by itself. Hence the name, "Mind." But if already there are not two (things), what could possibly be "One?" (But if) there is nothing which is "one;" then who is to say "Mind?"[189] A principle like this is beyond words and divorced from thought. (I) do not know how to designate it; (I) am compelled to call (it) "One Mind."[190]

<u>On the words "THESE TWO ASPECTS EACH WITHOUT EXCEPTION COMPLETELY EMBRACE ALL DHARMAS"</u>

(This sentence) explains (the statement,) "This mind embraces all dharmas in the mundane and supramundane worlds,"[191] found in the previous (chapter) on establishing (what Mahāyāna means). The previous (chapter) simply

clarifies that Mind embraces all dharmas. Now this (chapter), "The Explanation (of the Principle of Mahāyāna)," illustrates that the two aspects of (One Mind) each completely embrace (all dharmas).

On the words "(IT SIGNIFIES THAT) THESE TWO ASPECTS ARE INSEPARABLE FROM ONE ANOTHER"

This (sentence) explains the meaning of the two aspects' each completely embracing (all dharmas). (In saying this, the author also) wishes to clarify that the aspect of Suchness is the attribute that impurity and purity have in common. There is no impurity and purity lacking (this) common attribute. Therefore, (the aspect of Suchness) can completely embrace all dharmas of impurity and purity. (On the other hand,) the aspect of arising and ceasing manifests impurity and purity as separate. (However, each) dharma, (whether it is) of impurity or purity, has nothing it does not include. Therefore, (the aspect of arising and ceasing) also completely embraces all dharmas. Although the common and the separate are distinct, (they each) equally lack something to be rejected. Hence the words, "(these) two aspects are inseparable from one another."

The general explanation of the meaning ends.

(Expository Notes)[192]

The aspect of Suchness is the attribute common[193] to all dharmas. There are no dharmas lacking (this) common

attribute. All dharmas without exception are embraced by (this) common attribute. It is like the bits of clay which are the common attribute of earthenware. There is no earthenware lacking (this) common attribute. (Also,) all earthenware is included in (the class of items) made up of bits of clay. The aspect of Suchness is like this also.

As for the aspect of arising and ceasing, this Suchness is the cause of good and bad, because it creates all dharmas in conjunction with (various) conditions. Although it really creates all dharmas, (its) true nature is never corrupted. Therefore, in this aspect (of arising and ceasing) Suchness is also embraced. It is like the nature of bits of clay which join to make an earthen vessel but never lose the attributes of (being of) the nature of bits of clay. Therefore, the aspect of earthenware embraces bits of clay. The aspect of arising and ceasing is like this also.

(But) suppose that although the two aspects do not have different essences, (nevertheless,) the two aspects are mutually exclusive and do not have a common attribute. Then it must be that in the aspect of Suchness the principle (alone) is embraced whereas phenomena are not embraced, while in the aspect of arising and ceasing phenomena (alone) are embraced whereas the principle is not embraced.[194] In fact, however, (these) two aspects

are fused with each other; (their) boundaries are indistinguishable. Therefore, each of them without exception completely embraces all dharmas of principle and phenomena. Hence the words, "(It signifies that these) two aspects are inseparable from one another."

Question:[195] If each of these two aspects embraces both principle and phenomena, why then in the aspect of Suchness is only the essence of Mahāyāna shown, while in the aspect of arising and ceasing all (three)--the essence, attributes and operation (of Mahāyāna)--are shown?

Answer: The meanings of "embracing" and "showing" are different. Why? The aspect of Suchness (functions) to obliterate the attributes so as to manifest the principle. But the obliterated attributes are not eliminated; therefore, (the aspect of Suchness) is able to embrace the attributes. (Nevertheless,) the obliterated attributes are not present; therefore, the attributes (of Mahāyāna) are not shown (in the aspect of Suchness). (On the other hand,) the aspect of arising and ceasing (functions) to grasp the principle so as to perfect phenomena. (But since) grasping the principle does not destroy (the principle, the aspect of arising and ceasing) is able to embrace the principle. (However,) grasping the principle does not obliterate (the principle); therefore, (the aspect of arising and ceasing) also shows the essence (of Mahāyāna).[196]

Because (I) based (my answer) on this (understanding of) the meanings (of "embracing" and "showing"), (I) provisionally said that (the meanings of "embracing" and "showing") are not the same. But speaking from a (more) penetrating (understanding of the meanings of "embracing" and "showing"), the meanings of the two are the same. Therefore, (even) in the aspect of Suchness the attributes of phenomena must be shown. Simply because (the author of this treatise was) brief, (he did) not explain (this further).[197]

Question: The meaning of the two aspects' not being the same has been made clear. (But I) still do not know whether the principle and phenomena embraced by the two aspects also differ in meaning according (to which) aspect (embraces them) or not?

Answer: There is a distinction according to aspect; therefore, (the meanings of principle and phenomena as embraced by each of the two aspects) are not the same. Why? The principle of the phenomena embraced by the aspect of Suchness is differentiatedness, because it is explained that since (in the aspect of Suchness) no Dharma arises or ceases--all are originally tranquil--it is only on the basis of illusory thinking that there is differentiation. The principle of the phenomena explained (as being embraced by) the aspect of Mind's arising and ceasing is dependence, because it is explained that when the causes

and conditions of all dharmas unite there is arising and ceasing. But although these two natures (i.e., differentiatedness and dependence) are not one, nevertheless, they are not different either. Why? All arising and ceasing dharmas produced by causes and conditions are inseparable from illusory thinking; as a result, they are differentiated (from one another). Therefore, differentiatedness does not differ from dependence; (it,) too, exists in the aspect of arising and ceasing. Furthermore, the arising of causes and conditions cannot be produced by the self, by others, or all together. Therefore, dependence does not differ from differentiatedness; (it,) too, exists in the aspect of Suchness.[198]

(But) although these two natures (i.e., differentiatedness and dependence) are not different, nevertheless, they are not one either. Why? The principle of differentiatedness is not originally something, but nothing. (On the other hand,) although the principle of dependence is not something, nevertheless, it is not nothing either. Therefore, the two natures are likewise not contradictory. As the Mahāyānasaṃgraha-śāstra says,[199] "the three natures[200] are interdependent; therefore, they are neither different nor the same." (The two natures) should (also) be so explained. If one is able to understand the meaning of these three natures' being neither one nor different, there will be nothing unresolved in the disputes of all

philosophers.

(Let us now discuss what is meant by saying that) the principles embraced by (each of) the two aspects are not the same. As far as the principle explained (as being embraced by) the aspect of Suchness is concerned, although it is designated "Suchness," it is not obtainable, but it is not nothing either. With or without Buddha, its essence and attributes always exist. They never change; they cannot be destroyed. The terms "Suchness," "Reality," etc., which are provisionally established (as being) in this aspect (of Suchness), are explained in all the Prajñā-pāramitā sūtras, such as the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā,[201] etc. As far as the principle embraced by the aspect of arising and ceasing is concerned, although the essence of the principle is separate from the attributes of arising and ceasing, nevertheless, it does not maintain the nature of permanence either, but transmigrates through (the world of) birth and death in accordance with the conditions of ignorance. Although it really becomes tainted, its self-nature remains pure. The terms "Buddha--nature," "Original Enlightenment," etc., which are provisionally established (as being) in this aspect (of arising and ceasing), are explained in sūtras such as the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, the Avataṃsaka-sūtra,[202] etc. However, the sūtras which the present treatise is discussing, (such as) the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra,[203] etc., take the

penetration throughout the two aspects as the essence of (their) doctrine. The meanings of these two are not, however, different, because although (they) are free from arising and ceasing, nevertheless, (their) permanent nature is also unobtainable. Although it is said, "according to conditions they are transformed," nevertheless, they have never changed because they are free from the nature of arising and ceasing.[204] Because this meaning (attaches to what is) in the aspect of Suchness, (the treatise) says only, "not destroyed,"[205] and provisionally says, "reality." (As it is said,) "all dharmas are established without changing the real world."[206] Of the aspect of arising and ceasing (the treatise) says, "the pure mind of self-nature moves due to the wind of ignorance.[207] (As it is said,) "(it) is not colored yet (it) colors; (it) colors yet (it) is not colored."[208]

Question: Concerning the aspect of Suchness, only the meaning of Emptiness is explained; concerning the aspect of arising and ceasing, (only) the meaning of non-emptiness is explained. Is not (their) relationship, (then,) really like this?

Answer: If matching (the terms) is the only consideration, then such a conclusion is unavoidable. Therefore, in the (second) chapter, "On Establishing (what Mahāyāna) Means," concerning the aspect of Suchness (the treatise)

says only that (in it) the essence of Mahāyāna can be shown, while concerning the aspect of arising and ceasing (the treatise) says that (in it) the attributes and operation of Mahāyāna are manifested. In truth, however, this is not so. Therefore, later in the treatise the two aspects both explain the meaning of non-emptiness.[209]

Question: If both meanings are (contained) in the aspect of arising and ceasing, the meaning of its non--emptiness may mean the creation of arising and ceasing according to conditions. Emptiness means nothingness. How (can it) mean the creation of something according to conditions?

Answer: The two meanings are one; (one) cannot say that (they) are different. If (we) agree as to the meaning of Emptiness, then (we must also agree that it) can create something. Why? If Emptiness is definitely empty, it should not be able to create something. But this Emptiness is also to be emptied; therefore, it can create something. However, this emptying of Emptiness has two further meanings. First, there is the emptiness of dharma nature. This emptiness is also to be emptied. Both something and Emptiness are not obtainable; such emptying of Emptiness is the aspect of Suchness. As the <u>Pañcāviṃśatisāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā-sūtra</u> says,[210] "all dharmas are empty; this Emptiness is also empty. This is called emptying Emptiness." Second, (Emptiness) is like some-

thing not having the nature of something. Therefore, it can be empty. This is called Emptiness. Such Emptiness does not have the nature of Emptiness; therefore, it can create something. This is called emptying Emptiness. Such emptying of Emptiness is present in the aspect of arising and ceasing. As the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra says,[211] "being both something and nothing--this is called emptying Emptiness. Being both affirmed and negated--this is called emptying Emptiness." Such emptying of Emptiness cannot be attained even in the slightest degree by a Bodhisattva (who is already in the) tenth stage;[212] how much less (can it be attained) by the rest of the people? The difference between the two aspects should be understood in this way. With this the explanation of the general establishment of the principle in the foregoing chapter ends.

Notes to Translation

1. Treatise on Awakening Mahāyāna Faith is how we have chosen to translate the title of the Ta-ch'eng ch'i--hsin lun 大乘起信論(hereafter referred to as AFM). This is in contrast to all previously published translations of this text--D.T. Suzuki's, Timothy Richard's, Wai-tao's, and Yoshito Hakeda's. However, we believe that our translation better reflects Wŏnhyo's understanding of the relationship between Mahāyāna and awakening faith, as stated in section two of Part One.

2. A combined edition is a text in which two or more texts are combined. Three texts have been combined here: AFM (T. 1666), Wŏnhyo's Running Commentary (T. 1844), and Wŏnhyo's Expository Notes (T. 1845). The order followed in the intercalation of the commentaries is in strict accord with the order of the text in T. 1666. All of the Running Commentary is included in this edition, but overlapping parts of the Expository Notes have been omitted. The editor of the Combined Edition (hereafter referred to as CE) has never been identified.

3. Running Commentary is our translation of the title of Wŏnhyo's Ki-shin-non so 起信論疏(T. 1844), which may more literally be translated as Commentary on Awakening Faith. This commentary is commonly referred

to as the Haedongso, 海東疏, meaning Korean commentary. It has not been translated into English nor into Japanese. However, it has been translated into modern Korean three times. Two of these translations are: "Tae-sŭng Ki-shin--non so," translated by Sŏng Nakhun, in Han'guk ŭi sasang dae chŏnjip, vol. 1 (Tong'hwa ch'ulp'ansa: Seoul, Korea, 1972), pp. 39-132; "Tae-sŭng Ki-shin-non so," translated by Dongguk yŏkkyŏng wŏn, in Han'gŭl taejang--gyŏng, vol. 156 (Dongguk yŏkkyŏng wŏn: Seoul, Korea, 1976), pp. 21-248. Both of these translations are to be read with due regard given to the fact that they are often too free and sometimes even omit translation of whole passages. The third translation, by Rhi Ki-young, contained in his Wŏnhyo's Thought (Hongbŏpwŏn: Seoul, Korea, 1967), is a translation of many important passages in the Running Commentary, but these translations are so free that it is almost impossible to consider them real translations.

4. Expository Notes is our translation of the title of Wonhyo's Taesŭng Kishinnon Pyŏlgi 大乘起信論別記 (T. 1845), which more literally translated is Special Notes on Treatise on Awakening Mahāyāna Faith. This commentary appears to have been written before the Running Commentary, as the latter sometimes quotes the former, but the precise date of the publication of either

text is unknown. The _Running Commentary_ seems to be both an expanded version and revision of the _Expository Notes_. Thus, by comparing these two texts, it is possible to trace the development of Wŏnhyo's understanding of _AFM_. The _Running Commentary_ shall henceforth be designated _RC_; the _Expository Notes_ shall henceforth be referred to as _EN_.

5. Wŏnhyo did not doubt that _AFM_ was written by Aśvaghoṣa (see T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 2026, line 22). However, he treated Aśvaghoṣa as having lived after the Mādhyamika master Nāgārjuna and the Yogācāra master Asaṅga. Therefore, any biographical information about Aśvaghoṣa obtained from the _Ma-ming p'u-sa chuan_ (T. 2046) is not relevant to a discussion of the author of _AFM_, because the _Ma-ming p'u-sa chuan_ is the biography of the Aśvaghoṣa who lived before Nāgārjuna (150-250 A.D.). All other sources referring to Aśvaghoṣa refer to this Aśvaghoṣa also; so far no biographical information has been uncovered which pertains to the author of _AFM_. For a more detailed argument of this point, see Ui Hakuju, _Daijō Kishinnon_ (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1936), pp. 135-137

6. According to Fei Ch'ang-fang's catalogue (T. 2034, vol. 49, p. 99a, line 5), Paramārtha translated _AFM_ from Sanskrit into Chinese in 550 A.D. This is the traditional view of the matter. However, some later scholars have

challenged this view; the most important argument against it is Mochizuki's (cf. Mochizuki Shinkō, Daijō kishinnon no Kenkyū, pp. 5-14). Wŏnhyo never explicitly mentioned Paramārtha in his commentaries. Thus his silence can most likely be construed as meaning that he accepted the traditional account, of which he was most certainly aware.

7. Cho Myong-gi, in his book entitled Silla pulgyo ŭi inyŏm kwa yŏksa (pp. 96-121), states that Wŏnhyo wrote about one hundred books in approximately two hundred and forty rolls, of which only twenty books in twenty-two rolls survive. According to Ŭich'ŏn's catalogue (T. 2184, vol. 55, p. 1175a), Wŏnhyo wrote five commentaries on AFM, of which, unfortunately, only two survive: T. 1844 and T. 1845.

8. The first sentence of RC is a complex sentence consisting of two clauses of four characters each: the first four characters constitute the subordinate clause in which Wŏnhyo clarifies what he is about to do while the next four characters comprise the main clause in which Wŏnhyo states that his commentary has three sections. The first sentence literally says, "In explaining this treatise, I would like to have three distinctive divisions." In our translation the sentence is simplified and made passive. The Taishō edition of RC has shuo 說 instead of shih 釋 as the second character of the

sentence. But if one takes shuo 說 to be an abbreviated form of shuo-ming 說明, then there is no difference in meaning between the two versions.

9. EN has only two parts: the first explains the general meaning of AFM while the second explains the meaning of each of its sentences. Therefore, one may say that Wŏnhyo expanded the discussion of the general meaning of AFM into two parts, the first giving the essence of the doctrine and the second explaining the title. Therefore, the addition to RC is in the explanation of the title.

10. This section, which discusses the essence of the doctrine (chongch'ae 宗體: tsung-t'i), is the most important part of RC for understanding Wŏnhyo's standpoint, because in discussing the essence of the doctrine Wŏnhyo is really discussing the essence of Mahāyāna.

11. We have translated sugŏn kongjŏk 蕭焉空寂 and tami ch'unghyŏn 湛爾沖玄 as "completely empty" and "very mysterious." Sugŏn and tami are taken as functioning adverbially to qualify kongjŏk and ch'unghyŏn for emphasis. Therefore, we feel that in this context it is acceptable to render sugŏn and tami using the adverbs "completely" and "very" respectively. With respect to doctrine this passage focuses on the two aspects of the essence of Mahāyāna: being empty and being mysterious.

12. This sentence is virtually identical with the first half of the last sentence of the first chapter of the Tao-te ching: Hsüan-chih yu-hsüan 玄之又玄. The difference is Wŏnhyo's addition of another 之 chih at the end. See Arthur Waley, The Way and its Power (New York: Grove Press, 1958), p. 141.

13. The expressions "being empty" and "being mysterious," used to describe the essence of Mahāyāna, might lead some to think that Mahāyāna is something extraordinary, beyond ordinary experience. Therefore, with the two "no matter how..." constructions Wŏnhyo intends to draw attention to the phenomenal world and people's everyday conversation. Paekka 百家 usually denotes the one hundred philosophers, or schools of philosophy, but in this context it means simply ordinary people.

14. The five eyes of Buddhism are: 1. jou-yen 肉眼 or physical eye; 2. t'ien-yen 天眼 or heavenly eye; 3. hui-yen 慧眼 or wisdom eye; 4. fa-yen 法眼 or Dharma eye; 5. fo-yen 佛眼 or Buddha eye. See Ta-chih-tu-lun, vol. 33 (T. 1509, vol. 25, pp. 305c-306a). See also Kumārajīva's translation of the Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra (T. 235, vol. 8, p. 751b, lines 13-20).

15. The four unlimited explanatory abilities are: 1. the unlimited ability to explain each and every dharma; 2. the unlimited ability to explain the meaning of each

and every dharma; 3. the unlimited ability to explain each and every dharma and its meaning *via* any mode of written expression; 4. the unlimited ability to explain each and every dharma and its meaning *via* any mode of verbal expression. For a further discussion of this concept, see *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, Roll 25 (T. 1509, vol. 25, p. 246a-c) and Mochizuki, *BDJ*, vol. 3, p. 2020a-c.

16. If one is told that the essence of Mahāyāna is in the world of myriad phenomena and in the conversation of the people, then one expects it to be visible and describable. But that is a false expectation. In fact, no matter how wonderful one's faculties are, one cannot perceive the form of the essence of Mahāyāna nor can one describe its shape. Therefore, being beyond the apprehension of human faculties, the essence of Mahāyāna must remain invisible and indescribable.

17. The original of this sentence in *RC* differs from that in *EN*. *RC* reads

引之於有　一如用之而空
獲之於無　萬物乘之而生

A literal translation of this would be: "One might try to lead it into Being; however, everything is empty because of it. One might try to get it out of Non-being, but a myriad things arise through it." But *EN* reads

將謂有耶　一如由之而空
將謂無耶　萬物用之而生

Our translation is based on the *EN* version of this sentence, because a translation of that version makes more sense in English than a translation of the *RC* version. However, both versions are practically identical in meaning. Both imply that the terms Being and Non-being are irrelevant in describing the essence of Mahāyāna. See T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226a, lines 16-17.

18. With this sentence Wŏnhyo makes clear the fact that the term "Mahāyāna" is symbolic. The essence of Mahāyāna is always present, but at the same time it cannot be grasped through the use of language, nor through thought. A point of note is that originally, in *EN*, Wŏnhyo ended this sentence with *Tao* 道, not *Ta-ch'eng* 大乘. The sentence in *EN* reads: *Pu chih ho i yen chih; ch'iang wei tao* 不知何以言之強為道. See T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226a, line 17. What follows is an outline of the discussion so far in *RC*.

The essence of Mahāyāna

- empty
  - still present in the conversation of the people
  - none of the four unlimited explanatory abilities can describe its shape
- mysterious
  - but in the world of the myriad phenomena
  - none of the five eyes can see its form

Great?
but it enters the interiorless
and nothing remains.

Infinitesimal?
but it envelops the exteriorless
without exhausting itself.

Being?
yet everything is empty because of it.

Non-being?
yet a myriad things arise through it.

I do not know how to describe it, so that I am reluctantly compelled to call it "Mahāyāna."

19. Here the editor of CE has inserted about nine lines from EN (from line 17 to line 25 on p. 226a, T. 1845, vol. 44) because RC does not have them. That Wŏnhyo should omit such a powerful and splendid passage from RC is surprising.

20. The train of thought embodied in this paragraph may be diagrammed as follows:

EN	how empty (like space)	how vast (like ocean)
1.	nothing private	extremely impartial
2.	the impure and pure are here amalgamated	movement and stillness alternate with each other
3.	the absolute and the conventional are equalized	ascending and descending are different
4.	the path of thinking is cut off	the way of prayer and response is open
5.	the person is without impediment	the person returns to the Source
6.	the shadows and echoes ridden by the person are neither seen nor spoken.	if names and forms have been transcended what can one transcend? where can one return?

Conclusion:

Supreme Principle	Great Suchness
even if it seems	even if it seems
not to be a principle	not to be Suchness

21. Wŏnhyo's statements concerning movement and stillness in this passage should not be confused with the traditional Chinese view that movement and stillness should be one and the same (Tung-ching i-ju 動靜一如, or, in movement there should be stillness; in stillness there should be movement: Tung-chung-ching, ching-chung-tung 動中靜, 靜中動) which pertains to the ideal life-style. In this passage Wŏnhyo is trying to explain the harmonious alternation between the movement and stillness of the ocean as a means of indicating the ocean's impartiality. By analogy, therefore, in Mahāyāna itself both movement and stillness are possible as phenomenal facts because all phenomena are the operation (yung 用) of the empty as substance (t'i 体).

22. Based on the emptiness aspect of Mahāyāna, Wŏnhyo states almost all of the major Mahāyāna Buddhist ideals, such as the world of nothing private, the amalgamation of the impure and pure, the equalization of the absolute and conventional, and the world of no-thought, in succession. The progression from emptiness to nothing private, to the amalgamation of the impure and pure and to the equalization of the absolute and conventional is effected using the conjunction ku 故: "because." Thus

this passage gives the effect of being a logical progression from one thing to another. Despite this, however, one cannot help feeling that Wŏnhyo's style here is poetic, appealing to the reader's intuition, rather than logical, because the elements of the progression are, upon analysis, perceived not to be contingent upon each other. See Ko Ikchin's paper entitled "Wŏnhyo ŭi Kishin-nonso wa pyŏlgi rul t'ong'hae bon chinsok-wŏlyung muaegwan kwa kŭ sŏngnip iron" in <u>Pulgyo hakpo</u>, Vol. 10 (Seoul: Dongguk University, 1973), pp. 287-321.

23. Here, the Chinese character <u>t'ong</u> has been translated as "open." However, one should be aware that <u>t'ong</u> is one of the most important concepts in Wŏnhyo's thought and means "interpenetration." Such a meaning is present in this sentence also, because the openness of the way of prayer and response is nothing but the interpenetration between the prayer and the response.

24. The relationship between the equalization of the absolute and conventional and the cutting off of the path of thinking should not be viewed as one of cause and effect. Rather, the former is the ground of the possibility of the latter.

25. With the sentences that follow Wŏnhyo is attempting to elucidate that therefore it is both impossible and meaningless to separate the path of "thinking is cut off" from the path of "prayer and response is open" (which are usually misinterpreted as being two different tendencies in Buddhist practice.

26. The Taishō (T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226, line 23), Zokuzōkyo (Z. vol. 71, p. 310-2b, line 1) and Chin-ling-k'e-ching-ch'u 金陵刻経處 (Vol. 1, p. 2a, line 8) editions of EN all have su 垂: ch'ui, "to hang down," but the Haeinsa 海印寺 (Roll 1, p. 2a, line 8) edition has sŭng 乘: ch'eng, "to ride." Our translation follows the Haeinsa edition because its reading makes more sense.

27. The phrase, "muli chi chili, pulyŏn chi taeyŏn 無理之至理，不然之大然: wu-li chih chih-li, pujan chih ta-jan," has been rendered into English as "the Supreme Principle, (even if it seems) not to be a principle, the Great Suchness (even if it seems) not to be Suchness." This expression, which is one of Wŏnhyo's favorite (see Wŏnhyo's Kŭmgang Sammaegyŏng non, T. 1730, vol. 34, p. 961a, line 14), is very difficult to translate into proper English. Our translation lacks the dynamism of the original, but it is the best to have so far offered itself.

28. Vimalakīrti is traditionally regarded as being one of the most prominent lay disciples of Gautama Buddha.

Chih-chien (T. 474, vol. 14, pp. 519-537) and Kumārajīva (T. 475, vol. 14, pp. 537-557) both render his name into Chinese as *Wei-mo-chih* 維摩経. Hsüan-tsang renders it as *Shuo-wu-kou-ch'eng* 說無垢稱 or "it is suitable to call (him) stainless" (see T. 476, vol. 14, pp. 557-588). But here Wǒnhyo calls Vimalakīrti *Tugu taesa* 杜口大士 : *Tu-k'ou ta-shih* or "Silent Bodhisattva," a soubriquet deriving from Vimalakīrti's having kept silent when asked about entering the dharma-door of non-duality. See T. 475, vol. 14, p. 551c, line 22 and Robert Thurman's *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti* (University Park, Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 77 and note 15, pp. 131-132.

29. "*Mokkyǒk changbu* 目擊丈夫 *mu-chi chang-fu*" or "One-glance Hero" indicates both Confucius and Wen-po Hsüeh-tzu who, according to the Book of Chuang-tzu, did not say anything to each other when they met even though Confucius had wanted to meet Wen-po Hsüeh-tzu for a long time. When Confucius was asked the reason by his disciple, Tzu-lu, he said, "With that kind of man, one glance tells you that the Way is there before you. What room does that leave for any possibility of speech?" See *The Complete Works of Chuang-tzu*, translated by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 223.

30. Here there is again a difference between the *RC* and *EN* wording of a passage. Here *EN* reads

誰能論大乘於*無乘*
起深信於*無信*者哉

while *RC* reads

誰能論大乘於*離言*
起深信於*絕慮*者哉

(Cf. note 18).

31. *Muyŏn taebi* 無緣大悲: *wu-yüan ta-pei* or "unconditioned great compassion" is one of the two important qualities of the Bodhisattva's nature. The other is wisdom. See below, note 32.

32. *Tongch'ae chiryŏk* 同體智力: *t'ung-t'i chih-li* or "the power of wisdom (by which one regards others) as his own body" is the other important quality of the Bodhisattva's nature.

33. By "*Chunggwan non* 中觀論: *Chung-kuan lun*" Wŏnhyo is apparently indicating the *Chung lun* (*Madhyamaka-kārikā*), translated by Kumārajīva (304-409 A.D.), which includes a commentary written by Piṅgala (active in the early fourth century A.D.) as well as Nagarjuna's 445 *ślokas* (the Sanskrit original contains 449 *ślokas*). See T. 1564, vol. 30, pp. 1-39 and Mizuno Kōgen, *Butten kaidai jiten*, pp. 126-128. From Buddhist catalogues such as Seng-yu's *Ch'u-san-tsang-chi-chi* (T. 2145), Fa-ching's *Chung-ching mu-lu* (T. 2146) and Chih-sheng's *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* (T. 2154) it is obvious that *Chung-lun* is the original title given the *śāstra* by Kumārajīva. (See

T. 2145, vol. 55, p. 11a, line 19; T. 2145, p. 76c, line 13; T. 2145, p. 77a, line 15; T. 2146, vol. 55, p. 141b, line 7, etc.). But Chih-sheng admits that the text was also called the Chung-kuan lun (see T. 2145, vol. 55, p. 713c, line 13). The Chung-lun became known as the Chung-kuan lun probably because from earliest days the Chung-lun was considered the text most representative of the Chung-kuan school which was the name given in China to Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika school. The Madhyamaka-kārikā has been translated into English several times, for example, Frederick J. Streng, Emptiness, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967), pp. 181-220 and Kenneth K. Inada, Nāgārjuna: Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, Tokyo.

34. The Shibimun non 十二門論 : Shih-erh-men lun or Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra (sometimes also referred to as the Dvādaśamukha-śāstra) is attributed to Nāgārjuna and was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. However, a Sanskrit original has not been found and a Tibetan translation is not known to exist. Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623 A.D.), a famous San-lun master, said in his Shih-erh-men lun su 十二門論疏 (T. 1825) that Nāgārjuna wrote only the ślokas of the text while Piṅgala wrote the commentary. This would be similar to the case of the Chung lun (T. 1564) (cf. note 33). See Mizuno Kōgen, Butten kaidai jiten,

pp. 129-130 and Aiyaswami Sastri, "Dvādaśamukha-śāstra of Nāgārjuna" in <u>Viśva-Bharati Annals</u>, Vol. VI.

35. For what we have translated as "not complete," Zokuzōkyō has <u>pu-pien</u> 不徧 (Z. vol. 71, p. 310-2b, line 12) but Taishō has <u>pu-pien</u> 不遍 (T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, line 8). As <u>pien</u> 徧 and <u>pien</u> 遍 are interchangeable there is no difference in meaning.

36. The <u>Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra</u> is attributed to Maitreya-nātha (270-350 A.D.) and was translated into Chinese by the famous Tripiṭaka master Hsüan-tsang (600-664 A.D.). Its Chinese title is <u>Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti lun</u> 瑜伽師地論 (T. 1579, vol. 30, pp. 279-883). It consists of 100 rolls. The most comprehensive study of the text is Ui Hakuju's <u>Yugaron no kenkyū</u>, Tokyp: Iwanami shoten, 1958.

37. The <u>Mahāyānasaṃgraha-śāstra</u> by Asaṅga was translated into Chinese several times: by Buddhaśānta in 531 A.D. (T. 1592, vol. 31, pp. 97-113), by Paramārtha in 563 A.D. (T. 1593, vol. 31, pp. 113-132) and by Hsüan--tsang between 647 A.D. and 649 A.D. (T. 1594, vol. 31, pp. 132-152). See Sasaki Getsushō, <u>Kanyaku shihon taishō Shō daijō ron</u> 漢訳四本対照摂大乗論, 1931 and Ui Hakuju, <u>Shō daijō ron no kenkyū</u>, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1935.

38. Whether or not Wŏnhyo's criticism of these Mādhyamika and Yogācāra texts is valid is debatable. For

further discussion of this subject see Park Chong-hong, "A History of Korean Philosophy," in Han'guk sasangsa 韓國思想史 , compiled by Han'guk sasang yŏn'guhoe (Seoul: Ilshinsa, 1966), pp. 28-88.

39. Zokuzōkyō has pak 博 : po, "encyclopedic" (Z. vol. 71, p. 310-2b, line 14), while Taishō has chŏn 傳 : chuan, "penetrating" (T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, line 9). Chi 智 : chih, "wisdom," and in 仁 : jen, "benevolence," are two important requirements for the Confucian sage. (See D.C. Lau, tr., Mencius (Baltimore: Penguin, 1970), p. 79 and James Legge, tr., The Works of Mencius (New York: Dover, 1970), p. 193). On the other hand, hyŏn 玄 : hsüan, "mysterious," and pak 博 : po, "encyclopedic," are found in the first and last chapters, respectively, of the Tao-te ching 道德経 and are regarded as opposites. (See Chang Chung-yuan, tr., Tao: A New Way of Thinking (New York: Harper, 1975), p. 3 and p. 210). Thus discernible in this passage is some measure of both Confucian and Taoist influence on Wŏnhyo's mode of expression. In this regard we note that the Kosŏn monastery inscription reports that Wŏnhyo had read non-Buddhist religious literature. See the facsimile of the Kosŏnsa Sŏdang hwasang t'appi in Pulgyohak tong'inhoe, ed., Wŏnhyo chŏnjip (Seoul: Pulgyohak tong'inhoe, 1973), p. 383.

40. Here Wŏnhyo insists on the supremacy of AFM over the texts of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools. Yogācāra scholars, however, are critical of AFM. See Ueda Yoshifumi, Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū, Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1951 and Nagao Gadjin, "Hōzō no sanshōsetsu ni taisuru jakukan no gimon" in Miscellanea Kiotiensia: Essays in Celebration of the Semicentennial of the Faculty of Letters of Kyoto University (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1956), pp. 183-206.

This part of EN is eliminated from RC. However, a very similar idea is expressed in T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202b, lines 18-23. (See also Z. vol. 71, p. 311-1a, lines 6-11). It is interesting to note the omission of these remarks on Mādhyamika and Yogācāra texts from RC. Although Wŏnhyo wrote many commentaries on texts of both schools--his Samnon chong'yo 三論宗要, Paengnon ch'waryo 百論撮要, Haeshimmil-gyŏng so 解深密経疏, Yugaron-so chungsil 瑜伽論疏中實, and Sŏptaesŭng non so 攝大乘論疏 are some examples--none of them survive except his preface to the Haeshimmil-gyŏng so (see Pulgyohak tong'inhoe, ed., Wŏnhyo chŏnjip (Seoul: Pulgyohak tong'inhoe, 1973), pp. 175-176). Therefore, we are not in a position to critically evaluate Wŏnhyo's position concerning these schools. But we can state that Wŏnhyo places emphasis on AFM because he sees it as attempting to synthesize the

opposing tendencies manifested by the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools. See section five of Part One.

41. The two aspects in One Mind are (1) hsin chen-ju-men 心眞如門, literally, "the aspect of Suchness in One Mind," and (2) hsin sheng-mieh-men 心生滅門, or "the aspect of arising and ceasing in One Mind." See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576a, lines 5-6. Hakeda translates the Taishō passage as follows:

> One is the aspect of Mind in terms of the Absolute (tathatā; Suchness), and the other is the aspect of Mind in terms of phenomena (samsara; birth and death). (AF-H, p. 31)

42. The number "108" should not be taken literally. In Buddhist texts this number is frequently used to indicate abundance, for example, "the 108 defilements." (See Ta chih-tu lun in T. 1509, vol. 25, p. 110b, line 7).

The Sanskrit "mārakatam," rendered into Chinese as mo-lo 摩羅, means "emerald." Here mo-lo 摩羅 is translated simply as "jewels." See Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, vol. 2, p. 1280c.

43. Sǒng Nakhun translates kwang-go 廣誥 : kuang-kao as "many teachings." We read kwang 廣 : kuang as pang-kwang 方廣 : fang-kuang or kwang-dae 廣大 : kuang-ta, so we translate kwang-go 廣誥 : kuang-kao as "Mahāyāna teaching." See Sǒng Nakhun, "Taesǔng kishin non so" in Han'guk ǔi sasang taejǒnjip, Vol. 1, p. 40a.

44. We have translated song-jong 性淨 : hsing-ching as "essential purity" and sang-yŏm 相染 : hsiang-jan as "phenomenal impurity." Originally (1) hsing-hsiang 性相 and (2) ching-jan 淨染 were technical terms denoting (1) the nature of anything and its phenomenal expression (see Soothill's Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p. 259b) and (2) the purity of our original nature and its impurity, which results from its being in accord with changing phenomena. Here Wŏnhyo combines these two technical terms in order to stress the crucial message of the Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda-sūtra, namely, that essential purity, i.e., Buddha nature, is to be seen in phenomenal impurity, i.e., people's defilements, based on the Tathāgata-garbha theory. See Alex and Hideko Wayman's introduction to their The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā, New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, especially pp. 37-55.

45. Yusa 踰闍 : yu-she is the shortened form of 阿踰闍國 or "Ayodhyā," a castle in ancient India where Queen Śrīmālā lived. Wŏnhyo uses it for the name of the text. See T. 353, vol. 12, p. 217a, line 11 and Alex and Hideko Wayman, The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā (New York: Columbia, 1974), p. 60, footnote 6.

46. For Wŏnhyo's understanding of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (T. 375, vol. 12, pp. 605-852) see Yŏlban

chong'yo 涅槃宗要, which is contained in T. 1769, vol. 38, pp. 239a-255c.

47. Wŏnhyo wrote four books on Kumārajīva's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T. 262, vol. 9, pp. 1-62). The only one extant is the *Pŏphwa chong'yo* 法華宗要, which is contained in T. 1725, vol. 34, pp. 870c-875c.

48. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsauttamamarāja-sūtra* has various Chinese titles. See T. 663, vol. 16, pp. 335-457. "*Kŭmgo* 金鼓 : *chin-ku*," which Wŏnhyo uses here, indicates "*Kŭmgwang-myŏng* 金光明 : *chin-kuang-ming*." See T. 2183, vol. 55, p. 1153b, line 24.

49. See T. 673, vol. 16, pp. 640c-652c.

50. Here *samshin* 三身 : *san-shen* (*trikāya*) refers to the three bodies of Buddha:

(1) *fa-shen* 法身 or "dharma body" (*dharmakāya*);

(2) *pao-shen* 報身 or "reward body" (*sambhoga-kāya*);

(3) *hua-shen* 化身 or "transformation body" (*nirmāṇakāya*).

For an examination of the trikāya theory see Nagao Gadjin, "On the theory of Buddha-Body," *The Eastern Buddhist* (New Series), Vol. VI, no. 1, May 1973.

51. According to Ŭich'ŏn's catalogue (T. 2184, vol. 55, pp. 1165b-1178c) Wŏnhyo wrote four books on the *Hua-yen ching* 華嚴経 (T. 278, vol. 9, pp. 395-788). Unfortunately only the preface and third roll of Wŏnhyo's

Hwaŏmgyŏng so 華嚴経疏: Hua-yen-ching su or "A Commentary on the Avatamsaka-sūtra" in ten rolls has survived. T. 2757, vol. 85, pp. 234c-236a represents the contents of the third roll; Wŏnhyo chŏnjip, edited by Pulgyohak tong'inhoe, has both the contents of the third roll as well as the preface to the whole commentary (ibid., pp. 73-79).

52. Two texts in Taishō bear the name Ying-lo ching: (1) P'u-sa ying-lo ching 菩薩瓔珞経 (T. 656, vol. 16, pp. 1-126) and (2) P'u sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching 菩薩瓔珞本業経 (T. 1485, vol. 24, pp. 1010b-1023a). Thus it is impossible to determine which Ying-lo ching is meant simply on the basis of the title Wŏnhyo gives. However, as Wŏnhyo wrote a commentary on T. 1485, it might be reasonable to assume that that is the text meant. Moreover, although T. 1485 belongs to the Vinaya section of the Tripiṭaka, it discusses the four stages doctrine as does the Avatamṣaka-sūtra. For Wŏnhyo's commentary on the P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching see Wŏnhyo chŏnjip, pp. 131-169.

53. The Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra has been translated into Chinese several times, by Mokṣala (T. 221, vol. 8, pp. 1-146), by Dharmarakṣa (T. 222, vol. 8, pp. 147-216), by Kumārajīva (T. 223, vol. 8, pp. 217-424) and by Hsüan-tsang (T. 220, vol. 7,

pp. 1-426). By saying Taep'um 大品 : Ta-p'in, Wŏnhyo indicates that he means Kumārajīva's translation (T. 223). See Seng-yu's Ch'u san-tsang-chi chi (T. 2145, vol. 55, p. 10, line 16). Taehyedogyong chong'yo 大慧度経宗要, Wŏnhyo's commentary on T. 223, is included in Taishō (T. 1697, vol. 33, pp. 68b-74a).

54. See T. 397, vol. 8, pp. 1-407.

55. See ibid., pp. 233-297.

56. See ibid., pp. 298-381.

57. This sentence occurs in T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 16-17.

58. There is a striking similarity between both the ideas and the style of this sentence and Ch'eng I's sentence at the beginning of the Doctrine of the Mean:

Ch'eng I	Wŏnhyo
放之則彌六合 卷之則退藏於密	開則無量無邊之義為宗 合則二門一心之法為要
Unroll it, and it fills the universe	When unfolded, immeasurable and limitless meanings (are found in its) doctrine;
Roll it up, and it retires and lies in mysteriousness.	When sealed, the principle of two aspects (in) One Mind (is found to be its) essence.

In spite of their similarity, however, one must not ignore the differences between them. The sentences immediately following in each serve to reveal these differences:

Ch'eng I

…皆實学也
善讀者玩索而有得焉
則終身用之 有不能盡者矣

...The whole of it is solid learning. When the skillful reader has explored it with delight till he has apprehended it, he may carry it into practice all his life, and will find that it cannot be exhausted.

Wŏnhyo

…是以開合自在
…開而不繁
合而不狹

...Therefore, (it) unfolds and seals freely; ...Unfolding but not complicating; sealing but not narrowing...

In short, Wŏnhyo keeps pursuing the theoretical explanation of the relationship between k'ai 開 and ho 合 , showing the two as being completely amalgamated, whereas Ch'eng I turns from theoretical to practical considerations. See James Legge, Confucius: The Doctrine of the Mean (New York: Dover, 1971), pp. 382-383.

59. This paragraph is found only in RC (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202b, lines 18-23); EN does not have it. EN, however, has a similar paragraph (T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, lines 5-14).

60. The corresponding statement in EN is more in line with conventional expressions of humility: "I simply make a note for myself, I dare not expect this to be circulated to the world." (T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, line 25).

61. The discussion of the title, Invocation and Chapter One, "On Reasons (for Writing the Treatise)" (which occupy T. 1844, vol. 44 from p. 202b, line 28 to p. 206a, line 16), are not found in EN.

62. See my discussion of the title in section two of Part One.

63. In order to define "Mahā" here, Wonhyo uses the formula of principle (fa 法) and its significations (i 義), which is used for defining "Mahāyāna" at the beginning of Chapter Two of the AFM itself. Chapter Two ("On Establishing what Mahāyāna Means") begins:

> ...In general, there are two ways of explaining the term "Mahāyāna." What are the two? The first is its principle and the second is its significations. The word "principle" means the mind of sentient beings... The significations of Mahāyāna are three in number...the greatness of its essence...the greatness of its attributes...the greatness of its operation...

See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 20-28.

64. Two texts fall under the rubric Hsü-k'ung-tsang ching or Ākāśagarbha-sūtra. One is Buddhayaśa's translation (T. 405, vol. 13, p. 647c - p. 656b); the other is Fa-t'ien's (T. 1147, vol. 20, p. 604c - p. 607a). The latter was translated in the tenth century A.D. during the Sung dynasty. It is obvious, therefore, that Wŏnhyo is referring to the earlier translation. We have not

been able to identify the exact location of this passage. The analogy of a vehicle for yāna also occurs in the Ta-chih-tu lun. See T. 1509, vol. 25, p. 244c.

65. Here the meaning of Mahāyāna is contrasted to that of Hīnayāna. Thus, it is not completely accurate to state that the meaning of "Mahāyāna" in the title of AFM is in no way to be understood as referring to Mahāyāna Buddhism as opposed to Hīnayāna Buddhism. See AF-H, p. 28, author's explanatory comment.

66. The ssu she fa 四攝法 (also known as the ssu she shih 四攝事) or catuḥ-saṃgraha-vastu are:

(1) giving what others like (dāna; 布施);
(2) affectionate speech (priyavacana; 愛語);
(3) conduct profitable to others (arthakṛtya; 利行);
(4) cooperation with and adaptation of oneself to others (samānārthatā; 同事).

(Adapted from Soothill's A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p. 175b).

67. Shih shan yeh 十善業. This refers to the practice of the ten precepts: not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, not to speak with "double-tongue," not to use coarse language, not to use filthy language, not to covet, not to become angry, not to have perverted views. (Adapted from ibid., p. 50a; see also ibid., p. 47a).

68. The ssu wu liang hsin 四無量心 or catvāri apramāṇāni cittāni are:

(1) boundless mercy (in bestowing of joy or happiness (maitrī apramāṇa citta; 慈無量心);

(2) boundless compassion (in saving others from suffering) (karuṇā apramāṇa citta; 悲無量心);

(3) boundless sympathetic joy (on seeing others rescued from suffering) (muditā apramāṇa citta; 喜無量心);

(4) boundless even-mindedness (i.e., rising above the distinctions of friend and enemy, love and hate, etc.,) (upekṣā apramāṇa citta; 捨無量心).

The ssu wu liang hsin 四無量心 are four of the twelve dhyānas 禪, or concentrations, and are also known as the ssu teng 四等, or the four equalities, and the ssu fan hsing 四梵行, or the four noble acts. (Adapted from ibid., p. 178a-b).

69. The ch'i chüeh pao sheng 七覺寶繩 are usually known as the ch'i chüeh chih 七覺支 (saptabodhyaṅgāni) or the seven limbs of enlightenment. They are:

(1) mindfulness (smṛti; 念);

(2) investigation of dharmas (dharmapravicaya; 擇法);

(3) vigor (vīrya; 精進);

(4) joyous zest (prīti; 喜);

(5) tranquility (praśrabodhi; 輕安);

(6) concentration (*samādhi*; 定);

(7) even-mindedness (*upekṣā*; 捨).

The *saptabodhyaṅgāni* comprise one of the seven groups into which the thirty-seven conditions leading to bodhi or Buddhahood (*saptatriṃśad bodhipāksikā dharmāḥ* 三十七菩提分法) are divided. The seven groups are:

(1) the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛty-upasthāna*; 四念處);

(2) the four right efforts (*samyakprahāṇa*; 四正勤);

(3) the four bases of psychic power (*ṛddhipāda*; 四如意足);

(4) the five spiritual faculties (*pañcaindriyāṇi*; 五根);

(5) the five powers (*pañcabalāni*; 五力);

(6) the seven limbs of enlightenment (*saptabodhyaṅgāni*; 七覺支);

(7) the eightfold noble path (*aṣṭamārga*; 八正道).

See the *Ta-chih-tu lun*, Roll 39, (T. 1509, vol. 25, pp. 343-348) and Mochizuki, *BDJ*, Vol. 2, pp. 1548b-1550b.

70. The *ssu cheng ch'in* 四正勤 or *catvārisamyakpra-hāṇāni* are:

(1) to prevent evil from arising (*anutpannānāṃ pāpakānāṃ akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ anutpādāya chandaṃ janayati vyāyacchate vīryam ārabhati cittaṃ pragṛhṇāti samyak pradadhati*; 未生惡念不生);

(2) to put an end to existing evil (utpannānām pāpakānām akuśalānām dharmāṇām prahāṇāya; 已生悪令永断);

(3) to bring good into existence (anutpannānām kuśalānām dharmāṇām utpādāya 未生善令生);

(4) to develop existing good (utpannānām kuśalānām dharmāṇām sthitaye 'sampramoṣāya bhūyo bhāvanatāyai paripūraṇaya; 已生善令增長).

(Adapted from Lancaster's Lists of Buddhist Terms, p. 5).

71. The 四念處 or smṛty-upasthāna are:

(1) contemplating the body (kāya; 身) as impure;

(2) contemplating feeling (vedanā; 受) as resulting in suffering;

(3) contemplating thought (citta; 心) as impermanent;

(4) contemplating things (dharma; 法) as having no self-nature.

72. The four bases of psychic power (catvāri ṛddhipāda) are known in Chinese, as the ssu ju-i tsu 四如意足, the ssu shen tsu 四神足 or the ssu ju-shih kuan 四如實觀. They are:

(1) desire (chanda ṛddhipāda; 欲神足);

(2) vigor (vīrya ṛddhipāda; 勤神足);

(3) thought (citta ṛddhipāda; 心神足);

(4) exploration (mīmāṃsā ṛddhipāda; 觀神足).

73. The Five Powers (pañcabalāni 五力) are:

(1) power of faith (śraddha bala; 信力);

(2) power of vigor (vīrya bala; 進力);

(3) power of mindfulness (smṛti bala; 念力);

(4) power of concentration (samādhi bala; 定力);

(5) power of wisdom (prajñā bala; 慧力).

74. The Six Perfections (pāramitā) are:

(1) giving (dāna; 布施);

(2) morality (śīla; 持戒);

(3) patience (kṣānti; 忍辱);

(4) vigor (vīrya; 精進);

(5) concentration (dhyāna; 禪定);

(6) wisdom (prajñā; 智慧);

75. 無礙四諦 expresses the profoundest understanding of the Four Noble Truths (ārya-satya) which are:

(1) suffering (duḥkha; 苦);

(2) origin of suffering (samudaya; 集);

(3) cessation of suffering (nirodha; 滅);

(4) path leading to the cessation of suffering (mārga; 道).

76. The full Chinese title of this text is 大乘阿毘達磨雜集論 (T. 1606, vol. 31, pp. 694-774). It is usually called the Tui-fa lun 對法論. It was written by Sthiramati and translated by Hsüan-tsang. See KSL (T. 2154, vol. 55, p. 556b, lines 17-18).

77. It is clear that this sentence was not written by Wŏnhyo, but is a later addition because (1) all editions of RC and CE print this line as a double row of small

characters (cf. T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 203a, line 5; Z. vol. 71, p. 312-2a, line 11); (2) the first five cannot be taken simply as causes of the next two because without the last two the first five are actually impossible. Should this line be regarded as Wŏnhyo's it might then be taken as an expedient means to emphasize the importance of practice.

78. The Prakaraṇāryavāca-śāstra was written by Asaṅga and translated by Hsüan-tsang between 645 and 646 A.D. The full Chinese title is Hsien-yang sheng-chiao lun 顯揚聖教論 (T. 1602, vol. 31, pp. 480b-583b) which was an important text of the Fa-hsiang school in China. See Ono Gemmyo, BKD, Vol. 3, p. 182c and T. 2154, vol. 55, p. 556b, lines 9-10.

79. The Twelve Divisions of the Buddhist Canon (dvādaśāṅga-buddha-vacana 十二分教) are: (1) sūtra; (2) geya; (3) vyākaraṇa; (4) gāthā; (5) udāna; (6) nidāna; (7) avadāna; (8) itivṛttaka; (9) jātaka; (10) vaipulya; (11) adbhuta-dharma; (12) upadeśa. For further information see Mochizuki, BDJ, Vol. 3, pp. 2337c-2339a and Egaku Mayeda, Genshi bukkyō seiden no seiritsushi kenkyū (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1964), esp. Part II, pp. 181-550.

80. "Excellent Mind" is the English translation of i-lo 意樂 or a-shih-yeh 阿世耶 (āśaya) which means "joy of the mind." See Mochizuki, BDJ, Vol. 1, p. 36a. For

further discussion of *āśaya* see *Hsien-yang sheng-chiao lun*, Roll 3 (T. 1602, vol. 31, pp. 491b-497a).

81. Here *saṃbhāra* (nourishment) for the attainment of *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi* (Supreme Perfect Wisdom), which is the achievement of bliss and wisdom, is mentioned.

82. The term "three great *asaṃkhyeya kalpas*" (incalculable aeons) has various Chinese equivalents, such as 三阿僧祇劫 or simply 三僧祇, or else 三大劫阿僧企耶 , which Wŏnhyo uses here.

83. This *śāstra* was written by Maitreya and translated by Hsüan-tsang. Its full Chinese title is *Yü--chieh-shih-ti lun* 瑜伽師地論 (T. 1579, vol. 30, pp. 279-882). See *KSL* (T. 2154, vol. 55, p. 556b, line 7).

84. Nanjo's catalogue lists Maitreya as the original author of the text (Nj. 1806). However, Taishō does not give the author's name (T. 1581, vol. 30, pp. 888-959). The text was translated by T'an Wu-ch'an 曇無讖 (*Dharma-kṣema*) at Ku-tsang. See *KSL* (T. 2154, vol. 55, p. 519c, line 24).

85. *Yugaron* 瑜伽論 : *Yü-ch'ieh lun* usually indicates Maitreya-nātha's *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (T. 1579). However, we have not been able to locate this passage in that text.

86. This statement about faith, that the principle really exists, should not be misconstrued as contradicting

the Emptiness doctrine in Mahāyāna Buddhism. On the contrary, with this statement Wŏnhyo is trying to lead the reader away from a nihilistic view to the world of śūnyata. This is evinced by the statement soon following, that all dharmas are unobtainable.

87. This is a key message pervading all the Prajñāpāramitā literature. See Edward Conze, Buddhist Wisdom Books (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), p. 36 and T. 235, vol. 18, p. 749b.

88. Wŏnhyo apparently adopted the idea of three faiths from Paramārtha's translation of Vasubhandu's Mahāyānasaṅgrahabhāsya (She ta-ch'eng lun shih 攝大乘論釋. In the seventh roll of this work we read: 信有三種 一信有 二信可得 三信有無窮功德 See T. 1595, vol. 31, p. 199b, line 21.

89. This is quoted from Buddhabhadra's translation of the Ta-fang-kuang fo-hua-yen ching 大方廣佛華嚴経, Roll 6. The first four lines are from T. 278, vol. 9, p. 433a, lines 26-27; the next four lines are from T. 278, vol. 9, p. 433b, lines 6-7.

90. The relationship between chong ch'e 宗體 : tsung-t'i or "the essence of the doctrine," which corresponds to the Tae-sŭng 大乘 : Ta-ch'eng of the title, and sŭngnŭng 勝能: sheng-neng or "efficacious operation," which corresponds to the kishin 起信 : ch'i-hsin of the

title, is here considered by Wŏnhyo simply to be that of t'i (体) and yung (用). Therefore, one must say that for Wŏnhyo Mahāyāna and awakening faith must not be treated as two separate things but as one thing having two aspects.

91. For the sake of consistency we have translated the phrase somun 消文: hsiao-wen, which Wŏnhyo uses here, in a manner similar to the way in which we translated the phrase ŭimun hyŏnŭi 依文顯義: i-wen hsien-i, which Wŏnhyo uses in the first paragraph of RC, namely, as "on clarifying the meaning of the sentences." It is interesting to note the various ways in which Wŏnhyo expresses this idea. Besides the two variants indicated above, Wŏnhyo uses ŭimun soshik 依文消息: i-wen hsiao-hsi in the beginning of EN (T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226a, lines 10-11), but later in EN he simply uses somun 消文: hsiao-wen (ibid, p. 226b, line 27). Thus we may say that Wŏnhyo employs soshik 消息: hsiao-hsi as identical in meaning with hyŏnŭi 顯義: hsien-i, and that he simplifies both as somun 消文: hsiao-wen.

92. It is not clear who is responsible for the triangular marks which appear at the top of lines four and six on page 312-1a, Z. vol. 71. Both the Chin-ling-k'e-ching-ch'u and the Haeinsa editions have these triangles. They are not found in the Taishō edition.

The nature of the sentences immediately following these marks makes their function clear: sometimes they indicate that an analysis of the organizational structure of Wŏnhyo's commentary follows; sometimes they indicate that an analysis of the content of the commentary follows. Thus, we have parenthetically indicated the presence and function of these triangular marks in our translation with the terms "structural analysis" and "content analysis" respectively.

93. The Three Treasures, Fo-pao 佛宝 (Buddharatna), Fa-pao 法宝 (Dharmaratna) and Seng-pao 僧宝 (Saṅgharatna) are traditionally regarded as being the objects in which all Buddhists take refuge. However, we have deliberately avoided using the expression "taking refuge in..." Instead, we employ the term "returning to" because (1) the Chinese term Kuei-ming 歸命 implies returning to the source, even at the expense of one's own life, and (2) in Wŏnhyo's understanding the Three Treasures are nothing but one's own original mind. In light of Wŏnhyo's understanding, which we have adopted, returning to each of the Three Treasures means returning to one's own original mind. To speak of "taking refuge" in one's own original mind is rather odd; thus, we have refrained from employing this customary rendering of Kuei-ming 歸命.

94. Here Wŏnhyo uses the neng-so 能所 or agent-object construction in analyzing the meaning of "returning"

(kuei 歸). This would seem to contradict our interpretation of Kuei-ming 歸命 in note 93. But if the neng-so 能所 construction is regarded not as implying a dichotomy between agent and object but as an analytical device for exposing the dynamics of returning, then our interpretation in note 93 is consistent with Wŏnhyo's statement here.

95. It is both interesting and important to consider what is meant in Wŏnhyo's system by "Supreme Lord": is it Buddha, who is not myself, or is it One Mind, which is my own original mind? This is a key issue of Wŏnhyo's thought which needs to be investigated.

96. The six faculties are:

(1) the faculty of eye (cakṣur-indriya; 眼根);

(2) the faculty of ear (śrotra-indriya; 耳根);

(3) the faculty of nose (ghrāṇa-indriya; 鼻根);

(4) the faculty of tongue (jikvā-indriya; 舌根);

(5) the faculty of touch (kāya-indriya; 身根);

(6) the faculty of mind (mano-indriya; 意根).

See Hirakawa Akira's introduction to his Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, Tokyo: Daizo shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1973.

97. The six objects are:

(1) color and shape (rūpa-artha; 色境);

(2) sound (śabda-artha; 聲境);

(3) fragrance (gandha-artha; 香境);

(4) taste (rasa-artha; 味境);

(5) tangibility (spraṣṭavya-artha; 觸境);

(6) dharma (dharma-artha: 法境).

98. The six senses are:

(1) the sense of eye (cakṣur-vijñāna; 眼識);

(2) the sense of ear (śrota-vijñāna; 耳識);

(3) the sense of nose (ghrāṇa-vijñāna; 鼻識);

(4) the sense of tongue (jihva-vijñāna; 舌識);

(5) the sense of touch (kāya-vijñāna; 身識);

(6) the sense of mind (mano-vijñāna; 意識).

99. This is our translation of the original Chinese 所歸一心 即是三寶故也 (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 203b, lines 18-19) which, together with 大乘法唯有一心 (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 204b, line 19) is one of the most important premises in Wŏnhyo's thought.

100. Here Wŏnhyo explains the Buddha's excellence using the relationship of t'i (体) and yung (用) or "essence" and its "operation." The following diagram shows Wŏnhyo's analysis of the excellence of Buddha.

The Excellence of Buddha 佛德		
	Excellence of mind 心德	Excellence of form 色德
T'i 体 (Essence)	Omniscient 徧知	Unimpeded 色無礙
Yung 用 (Operation)	Most excellent acts 最勝業	Omnipotent 自在

101. The p'alsang 八相 : pa-hsiang or eight marks of the Buddha's life are:

(1) descent from the Tuṣita heaven;

(2) birth in the Lumbinī garden;

(3) passing through the four gates;

(4) leaving home;

(5) practice in the Himalaya mountains;

(6) the surrender of Mara;

(7) preaching at Deer Park;

(8) entering Nirvāṇa.

For the traditional account of the Buddha's life see The Life of Buddha, ed. by Zozayong, Seoul: Emille Museum, 1975.

102. The ten directions are the eight points of the compass (N, E, S, W, NE, NW, SE, SW), the zenith and the nadir.

103. Exactly the same passage was quoted by Wŏnhyo in his explanation of the meaning of Mahāyāna above. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 203a, lines 3-4.

104. We have not been able to locate this passage in any of the three translations of this text made prior to the time of Wŏnhyo's writing: Buddhaśānta's (T. 1952, vol. 31, pp. 97-113), Paramārtha's (T. 1953, vol. 31, pp. 113-132), and Hsüan-tsang's (T. 1954, vol. 31, pp. 132-152).

105. See T. 278, vol. 9, p. 400a, line 7.

106. The mutual operation of the five faculties means the ability to substitute one faculty for another, or the ability to make one faculty do the function of all the others, which is one of the Buddha's powers.

107. Here "ten bodies" means the ten aspects of the Buddhakāya. See Mochizuki, BDJ, Vol. 3, pp. 2262a-2264c.

108. T. 374, vol. 12, pp. 502c-503a.

109. For the chapter of "Ten Stages" see T. 278, vol. 9, pp. 542-578. See especially p. 565b-c.

110. T. 262, vol. 9, pp. 10b-19a. For the most recent English translation of this chapter from the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra see Leon Hurvitz, Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 49-83.

111. T. 125, vol. 2, p. 717b, lines 15-22.

112. There is no disagreement among the traditional commentators concerning the three phrases extolling the

Buddha treasure which are found in the first two lines of the Invocation:

(1) Him who pervades...;

(2) Who has form but...;

(3) The greatly compassionate one... .

(Z. vol. 71, p. 312-1a, lines 8-9; T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575b, lines 10-11.) There is a disagreement, however, between Wŏnhyo and other commentators, such as Hui-yüan and Fa-tsang, concerning the phrases extolling the Dharma Treasure. According to Wŏnhyo, only the two phrases 及彼身體相 and 法相眞如海 refer to the Dharma Treasure. He regards the phrase that follows, 無量功德藏, as referring to the Saṅgha treasure. Hui-yüan and Fa--tsang, on the other hand, regard all three phrases as pertaining to the Dharma Treasure. For Hui-yüan's view see T. 1843, vol. 44, p. 117a, lines 4-13; for Fa-tsang's opinion see T. 1846, vol. 44, p. 247b, lines 25 ff.

113. Dharma Treasure (Fa-pao 法宝 or Dharmaratna), one of the three treasures (san-pao 三宝 or triratna) usually refers to the teaching of Buddha, or the Buddhist scriptures. But here Wŏnhyo tries to explain it, using the trikāya of Three Body theory, as meaning the sambogakāya or "Reward Body" of Buddha.

114. The lines from the Ta-chih-tu lun 大智度論 that Wŏnhyo quotes here do not correspond exactly to

the lines as found in the Taishō edition of that text (see T. 1509, vol. 25, p. 298b, lines 19-21); Wŏnhyo probably condensed them. T. 1509 says:

法性者法名涅槃　不可壞不可戲論
法性名為本分種　如黃石中有金性
白石中有銀性　如是一切世間法中
皆有涅槃性

Wŏnhyo's version is too terse for ascertaining the meaning; thus we based our translation on the Taishō version quoted above.

115. "Gold bearing stone" is literally "yellow stone" (黃石); "silver bearing stone" is literally "white stone" (白石).

116. Here Wŏnhyo applies the idea of affirmation and negation to the concept of Suchness; Wŏnhyo's concern with affirmation and negation was seen previously at the beginning of his EN (T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226b, lines 4-9). We have not been able to determine whether the concern with affirmation and negation is originally Wŏnhyo's, whether he adopted it from Hua-yen teaching, or whether he derived it from the AFM itself.

117. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576b, lines 15-18.

118. T. 278, vol. 9, p. 788a, lines 4-7.

119. By regarding the phrase 無量功德藏 as pertaining to the saṅgha and not the Dharma, as opposed to both Hui-yüan (T. 1843, vol. 44, p. 176b, lines 18-19)

and Fa-tsang (T. 1846, vol. 44, p. 247b, lines 25f)--modern Japanese scholars, such as Takemura Shōhō (Daijō kishinron kōdoku, Kyoto: Hyakukaen, 1959, p. 13) and Ui Hakuju (Daijō kishonron, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1936, p. 98) follow Fa-tsang--Wŏnhyo seems to want to emphasize human beings, because the Saṅgha is a human community. However, not to mislead his readers into thinking that human beings are thereby confirmed in their ordinary condition, Wŏnhyo points to the Daśabhūmika Bodhisattvas (see note 120), who had reached a certain stage of practice, as the example of what the Saṅgha is. See note 112.

120. Daśabhūmika Bodhisattvas are Bodhisattvas who are at the Shih-ti 十地 stage, the last group of ten stages in the fifty-two stage process of becoming a Buddha. The fifty-two stages are:

1-10: the stage of ten faiths, shih-hsin 十信;
11-20: the stage of ten dwellings, shih-chu 十住;
21-30: the stage of ten conducts, shih-hsing 十行;
31-40: the stage of ten returns, shih-hui-hsiang 十迴向;
41-50: the stage of ten bhūmi, shih-ti 十地;
51: the stage of Identical Enlightenment, teng-chüeh 等覺;
52: the stage of Marvelous Enlightenment, miao-chüeh 妙覺.

See Mochizuki, *BDJ*, Vol. 2, pp. 1214a-1217a. See also Garma C.C. Chang, *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality* (University Park, Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), pp. 28-47.

121. By saying this Wonhyo clearly shows that he maintains the position that the possibility of having such limitless virtue is open to everybody, yet, *in fact*, such virtues belong only to Bodhisattvas.

122. This is also called the *Ratnagotravibhāga-mahāyānottara tantra-śāstra* 究竟一乘宝性論, translated into Chinese by Ratnamati. See T. 1611, vol. 31, pp. 813-848. The most recent and comprehensive treatment of this text is that by the famous expert on Tathagata-garbha thought, Takasaki Jikido, entitled *A Study of the Ratnagotravibhaga (Uttarantantra), being a treatise on the Tathagatagarbha Theory of Mahayana Buddhism*, Rome, 1966.

123. The term 正體智, translated here as "right essential wisdom," is also called "fundamental wisdom" (*mūlajñāna*; 根本智), or the "non-discriminating wisdom of pure intuition" (*nirvikalpajñāna*; 無分別智).

124. The term 後得智 (*pṛṣṭhalabdhajñāna*), which could also be translated "subsequent wisdom," means the wisdom obtained after the fundamental wisdom (根本智) is obtained. This wisdom is wisdom applied to worldly

affairs, especially to the situation of suffering human beings. See Mochizuki, BDJ, Vol. 2, p. 1269a.

125. Wŏnhyo is here actually commenting on the plural particle 等, which occurs right after the term 修行, or "practice."

126. The Dharmasangīti-sūtra was translated by Bodhiruci into Chinese and is included in the Taishō edition of the Tripiṭaka. See T. 761, vol. 17, pp. 609c-650b.

127. See ibid., especially p. 635b, line 29 - p. 636a, line 6.

128. This is the third śloka of the invocation (T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575b, lines 14-15). In Chinese, this śloka begins with wei 爲 and ends with ku 故. Because of the wei...ku 爲...故 construction, our translation begins with the word "because." But a question for the commentator arises as to where the subordinate clause, beginning with wei 爲 and ending with ku 故, belongs. In other words, what is the main clause? If it is the first two ślokas, then the subordinate clause serves to explain why the author, offering up his life, returns to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. If, on the other hand, this clause is meant to show why the author is writing the treatise, then the main clause would be the next sentence, which begins with lun-yüeh 論曰, or

"I declare that..." In terms of grammar and style, the former possibility is more likely; in terms of logical sequence, however, the latter possibility is more reasonable. Wŏnhyo chose the latter. This is one of the unique features of Wŏnhyo's interpretation.

129. 上求菩提 下化衆生, or "seek wisdom above; transform sentient beings below," is one of the most popular Buddhist maxims in East Asia. Wŏnhyo replaces 上求菩提 with 上弘佛道 -- "broaden Buddha's way..." But in so doing he has not really altered the meaning because to broaden Buddha's way can mean to attain Buddha's wisdom and transmit it to future generations. (We have left _shang_ 上, "above" and _hsia_ 下, "below" untranslated, as omitting them does not make the meaning any less clear, whereas including them introduces a false dichotomy too reminiscent of "heaven above" and "earth below" to be admissible in this context.)

130. The one principle alluded to is the principle that all sentient beings are Buddhas. The conclusion that seems to follow from this, "then no sentient being exists," causes a problem for the questioner.

131. There are many vows for Bodhisattvas in Mahāyāna Buddhism. In East Asia, four "great" vows are especially popular. They were formulated originally in the _Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch_. They are:

I vow to save all sentient beings
everywhere;
I vow to cut off all the passions
everywhere;
I vow to study all the Buddhist
teachings everywhere;
I vow to achieve the unsurpassed
Buddha Way.

Quoted from Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 143. (For the original Chinese of the Tun-huang text of these vows, see ibid., p. 9 of the Appendix and also Mochizuki, *BDJ*, Vol. 2, pp. 1755a-1756c). Obviously, Wŏnhyo is here referring to the first of these four vows.

132. The six destinies (*gati*) are:

(1) gods (*deva*; 天上);

(2) men (*manuṣya*; 人間);

(3) *asura* (*asura*; 阿修羅);

(4) animals (*tiryagyoni*; 畜生);

(5) hungry ghosts (*preta*; 餓鬼);

(6) beings in the hells (*nairayika*; 地獄).

133. 發大心, or "producing great mind," is an abbreviated form of 發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, or "producing the mind of *Anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*. In Buddhism, there is nothing greater than *Anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*, or "peerless right wisdom." Therefore, it is called or "Great Mind."

134. Chih 止 (Śamatha) is translated "cessation" or "tranquilization" by D.T. Suzuki and "cessation of illusion" by Hakeda. We have translated it as "tranquilization." See AFM-S, p. 128, and AFM-H, p. 93.

135. For kuan 觀 (vipaśyanā) Suzuki gives "intellectual insight" while Hakeda gives "clear observation." Here we follow Hakeda. See AFM-H, p. 93.

136. The treatise referred to here is the Ta-chih-tu lun. See T. 1509, vol. 25, p. 63a, lines 1-2.

137. "The verse" refers to the third śloka of the invocation (T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575b, lines 14-15). "Because" is wei 為; "in order to" is ku 故. See the argument in note 128.

138. In the expression lun-yüeh 論曰, both lun 論 and yüeh 曰 are verbs. Therefore, the subject "I" is skipped. The expression is emphatic: it means "(I) declare." Takemura Shoho's analysis is in agreement with ours, whereas Ui Hakuju's is not. (See Takemura Shoho, Daijō kishin ron Kodoku (Kyoto: Hyakugaen, 1959), p. 15; Ui Hakuju, Daijō kishin ron (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1936), p. 9). But Ui Hakuju's translation, "The treatise says," is improbable in this context. It would only be justified if AFM were quoting another treatise, which it is not.

Suzuki seems to translate lun-yüeh 論曰 as "discourse;" Hakeda seems to translate it as "the contents of the

discourse." See AFM-S, p. 48 and AFM-H, p. 24.

139. Our translation of the chapter titles differs somewhat from Hakeda's. These differences mainly reflect Wŏnhyo's understanding of the text. The important differences with Hakeda are in the translations of the titles of the second and fourth chapters. Hakeda translated the title of the second chapter, 立義分, as, simply, "Outline." He translated the title of the fourth chapter, 修行信心分, as "On Faith and Practice." We have translated the title of the second chapter as "On Establishing (what Mahāyāna) Means" because 立義 means more than "outline;" that is, the second chapter may be compared to a proclamation of the doctrine while the third chapter is the explanation of the proclaimed doctrine. Therefore, Wŏnhyo says in his commentary on the second chapter below,

> Until (the meaning) has been definitively established, the essence of a doctrine cannot be known.

We have translated the title of the fourth chapter as "On Practicing Faith," because the fourth chapter is not about faith and practice but about how to practice faith. See AFM-H, p. 24.

140. It is very difficult to translate this sentence without adding the character li 離, "to be free from," immediately before fen-tuan 分段. The original Chinese

sentence has probably been corrupted during the course of transmission. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 205a, line 3.

141. Again, it is difficult to translate this sentence. It does not make sense unless one adds the two characters 非求, "not seeking," at the very beginning of the sentence. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 205a, lines 5-6.

142. In the context of AFM, "the Great Way" (大道) refers to the Way of the Bodhisattva. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 580b.

143. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 582a, lines 6-12.

144. Ibid., p. 582a, line 12 - p. 583a, line 11.

145. Ibid., lines 12-22.

146. In Buddhist texts fa 法 can be rendered in various ways: "dharma," "principle," "teaching," "method," etc. In Chapter One of AFM fa 法 occurs four times (T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575b, line 26; p. 575c, lines 7, 8 and 16). In all cases fa 法 is used in the same sense as in the first sentence after the Invocation: 論曰有法能起摩訶衍信根, or "I declare that there is a principle which can arouse the root of Mahāyāna faith." For the meaning of "dharma" in Indian Buddhism see Theodore Stcherbatsky, The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma," London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1923.

147. "The Perfect Voice (yuan-yin 圓音) usually means the Buddha's teaching, which always avoids egocentric

partiality and represents perfect truth. Here Wŏnhyo tries to explain the meaning of the Perfect Voice using the Hua-yen notion of totality. For the meaning of totality, see Garma C.C. Chang, The Buddhist Teaching of Totality, Part One: "The Realm of Totality" (University Park, Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), pp. 2-55.

148. Below Wŏnhyo furnishes three scholars' opinions concerning the identity of Perfect Voice and One Voice. Wŏnhyo does not specify the scholars' names, so their identity is unknown, but a similar discourse is found in the first volume of the Ta-fang-kuang fo-hua-yen ching 大方廣佛華嚴経, written by Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (?-839), the fourth patriarch of the Hua-yen school in China. See T. 1735, vol. 35, p. 508a, line 28 and following. For more information about the One Voice doctrine, see Mochizuki, BDJ, Vol. 1, p. 128a-b.

149. We cannot identify this quotation; however, the idea is very similar to a well-known line in the first chapter of the Wei-mo ching, 維摩経：佛以一音演說法衆生隨類各得解. See T. 475, vol. 14, p. 538a, line 2.

150. This is our translation of 都無宮商之異. Kung 宮 and shang 商 are the first and second notes of the pentatonic scale used in traditional Chinese music.

151. The four tones, said to have been first classified by Shen Yo, are:

(1) the even tone: p'ing sheng 平聲;

(2) the rising tone: shang sheng 上聲;

(3) the sinking tone: ch'u sheng 去聲;

(4) the entering tone: ju sheng 入聲.

See Herbert A. Giles, A Chinese-English Dictionary (Taipei: Ch'eng wen Publishing Company, 1967), p. 1204b.

152. The term Tseng-shang-yüan 增上緣, or "additional conditions," is adhipati-pratyaya in Sanskrit and means "conditions which increase or amplify any main factor." (See Mochizuki, BDJ, Vol. 4, pp. 3070a-3071a). For the most systematic discussion of the term see Vasubandhu's Abidharmakośa-śāstra, translated by Hsüan--tsang, Roll 7, the chapter on Indriya (T. 1558, vol. 29, pp. 36b-40c).

153. Wei-mo ching 維摩經, T. 475, vol. 14, p. 538a, line 2.

154. This is a favorite expression of the Hua-yen school. The most popular text about it in Korea os the Pŏpsŏnggye 法性偈 or The Poem of Dharmata, by Ŭisang (625-702). Ŭisang was the founder of the Hwaŏm jong 華嚴宗 or Hua-yen school in Korea. See T. 1887, vol. 45, pp. 711a-716a.

155. This quotation from the Avataṃsaka-sūtra does not exist in Buddhabhadra's translation (T. 278) except

for the second phrase, in a slightly altered form, as follows:

Wŏnhyo's text: 一言演說盡無餘 (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 205c, line 12)

Buddhabhadra's text: 一音演說悉無餘 (T. 278, vol. 9, p. 399b, line 4)

156. The three time periods are the past, the present and the future.

157. Both <u>ying-shen</u> 應身 and <u>hua-shen</u> 化身 are used to translate the Sanskrit <u>nirmanakaya</u>, or "transofmration-body." However, some texts such as Hui-yüan's (慧遠 523-592) <u>Ta-ch'eng i-chang</u> 大乘義章 (T. 1851), use <u>ying--shen</u> in a special sense to denote the body of Sakyamuni Buddha as having thirty-two marks. Here Wŏnhyo follows Hui-yüan's usage and distinguishes <u>ying-shen</u> 應身, or "response-body" from <u>hua-shen</u> 化身, or "transformation-body." See T. 1851, vol. 44, pp. 840c-841c.

158. 無礙相入界, which we have translated as "the world of unhindered mutual entering" most probably denotes "the world of the jewel net of Indra" mentioned in the <u>Hua-yen ching</u>. See Francis Cook, <u>Hua-yen Buddhism</u> (University Park, Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), especially the first chapter, "The Jewel Net of Indra," pp. 1-19.

159. 無量出生界, "the world of limitless production," is equivalent to "the world of Hua-yen," but it especially denotes its arising aspects. See ibid.

160. "The world of Hua-yen" is also called "the world of *Śānti* (寂靜) and Nirvāṇa (涅槃)" because in it there is no longer any conceptual play.

161. Although we have not been able precisely to locate the three kinds of no-hindrance doctrine in Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (T. 278), which Wŏnhyo must have used, the idea of no-hindrance (*wu-ai* 無礙; *apratihata*) pervades the entire text, especially the last chapter, entitled *Ju-fa-chieh p'in* 入法界品, or "Chapter on Entering into the Dharma World." (T. 278, vol. 9, pp. 676-788). For more information on no-hindrance, see Mochizuki, *BDJ*, Vol. 5, pp. 4828c-4829a.

162. Wŏnhyo's long discussion about the nature of Buddha's perfect voice ends here. The focus of this discussion is, simply, on how one voice becomes Perfect Voice, by which every sentient being can gain understanding.

163. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (*Ta-chih-tu lun* 大智度論) is attributed to Nāgārjuna (150-250 A.D.) and was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.). See T. 1509, vol. 25, pp. 57-756. Étienne Lamotte's partial translation of this treatise into French, which is entitled *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna* and which is in three volumes (Louvain: 1944, 1949, 1970), was based on Kumārajīva's Chinese translation.

164. See note 36.

165. Without adding the clause, "it is called a vehicle," to the end of this sentence, the sentence, which ends in the Chinese original with the character *ku* , is left dangling. The received text of *AFM* is probably corrupt at this point. What Wŏnhyo says below, 乘義中二句, etc., (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 206c, lines 1-3) supports this.

166. Many twentieth century Japanese scholars such as Yoshito Hakeda, D.T. Suzuki, Ui Hakuju and Hirakawa Akira emphasize that in this context the meaning of Mahāyāna is not the same as its meaning when contrasted to Hīnayāna. See *AFM-H*, p. 28; Ui Hakuju, *Daijō kishin ron* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1936), p. 97; *AFM-S*, p. 48, and Hirakawa Akira, *Daijō kishin ron* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1976), p. 53. However, Wŏnhyo here clearly characterizes Mahāyāna as being opposed to Hīnayāna. This is a significant difference between Wŏnhyo and modern scholars.

167. The passage referred to is the one that reads,

> Because the Suchness aspect of this mind shows the essence of Mahāyāna, (while) the causal and conditional aspect of the arising and ceasing of this mind can show the attributes and operation of Mahāyāna itself.

(T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 23-24).

168. This passage is found in T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576a, line 8.

169. This passage is found in T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576a, line 24. The two aspects of Suchness are "really empty" and "really non-empty."

170. Ibid., p. 576b, line 8.

171. Ibid., p. 577b, line 3.

172. The phrase, 復次生滅, is not found in AFM. But if it refers to the aspect of arising and ceasing, then Wŏnhyo must mean the phrase 復次分別生滅相者, which is found in T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 577c, line 26.

173. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 578a, lines 19-21.

174. It is not clear what is being referred to by the phrase 下釋中之文 (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 206b, line 24). But, based on the context, we have taken it as referring to the subsequent part of Wŏnhyo's interpretation, and not to a subsequent part of AFM.

175. There are four kinds of matrix of Tathāgata:

(1) the matrix of Tathāgata which is empty;

(2) the matrix of Tathāgata which is non-empty;

(3) the matrix of Tathāgata which denotes that sentient beings are contained in the Tathāgata;

(4) the matrix of Tathāgata which denotes that sentient beings contain the Tathāgata within them. Here Wŏnhyo is indicating that the matrix of Tathāgata which is "completely filled with the immeasurable virtues of (Buddha) nature" refers to the second and fourth kinds

of matrix of Tathāgata. See Hirakawa Akira, Daijō kishin ron (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1976), p. 63.

176. This refers to Wŏnhyo's discussion of Tathāgatagarbha in T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 206c, and p. 208b.

177. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 28-29.

178. Ibid., p. 575c, line 29 - p. 576a, line 1.

179. Ibid., p. 576a, lines 1-4.

180. This paragraph may be diagrammed as follows:

Chapter 3, "Explanation of the Principle of Mahāyāna"

- 1. Revelation of right meaning
  - 1. Correct explanation of the meaning
    - 1. Section on principle
      - 1. General explanation
      - 2. Specific explanation
    - 2. Section of significations
  - 2. Method of entering the Way
- 2. Correction of wrong attachments
- 3. Examination of the Way to be followed

181. Wŏnhyo devotes more space to interpreting this passage from AFM than to any other in the first roll of CE. This is not surprising, for it is known as the most important passage in Chapter Three. It is highly debatable whether chen-ju 眞如 and sheng-mieh 生滅 may be translated

as "Absolute" and "phenomena," respectively, as they have been by Yoshito Hakeda (*AFM-H*, p. 31), because such a translation gives a strong impression of dichotomy, while 眞如 and 生滅 are never dichotomously contrasted in *AFM*. That is why the treatise can say, "these two aspects are inseparable from one another" (*pu-hsiang-li* 不相離). Wŏnhyo will now begin to concentrate on explaining the meaning of this important idea.

182. This passage occurs at the end of the first chapter (*Ch'ing-fo p'in* 請佛品) of Bodhiruci's translation in 513 A.D. See T. 671, vol. 16, p. 519a, lines 1-2.

183. 彼経 here again refers to Bodhiruci's translation of the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*. Wŏnhyo frequently quotes from this sūtra without mentioning the full title. See Rhi Ki-yong, "Kyŏngjŏn inyong e nat'anan Wŏnhyo ŭi tokch'angsŏng" 経典引用에 나타난 元曉의 独創性, *HBS*, pp. 177-223.

184. A very similar passage is found at the beginning of the eleventh chapter (*Fo-hsing p'in* 佛性品) of Bodhiruci's translation of the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*:

如來之藏 是善不善因故
能興六道 作生死因緣
譬如伎兒 出種種伎

See T. 671, vol. 16, p. 556b, lines 22-24.

185. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576b, lines 7-8.

186. Ibid., lines 10-11.

187. Of the three greatnesses, t'i 體, hsiang 相 and yung 用, t'i 體 is usually regarded as the greatness that belongs to the Suchness aspect of One Mind, while yung 用 is usually taken as belonging to One Mind's arising and ceasing aspect. Here Wŏnhyo is emphasizing that all three greatnesses inhere in both aspects, because of the nature of the Tathāgatagarbha.

188. Wŏnhyo already explained why the nature of pure and impure dharmas is not two at the beginning of EN. See the schema in note 20.

189. Rhi Ki-yŏng translates this sentence, "一無所有 就誰曰心," (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 207a, line 2), quite differently. In his famous book, Wŏnhyo sasang (Seoul: Hongbŏpwŏn, 1976; p. 111), we read:

> Since "One" means having nothing, how can it be said that someone possesses Mind?

190. This paragraph echoes the beginning of RC. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202a-b; T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 226a-b.

191. T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 21-22.

192. This section of EN (T. 1845, vol. 44, pp. 227b-228a), which concludes the first roll of CE, has no counterpart in RC. Actually, EN begins with the interrogative sentence, "何者眞如門" (see T. 1845), which CE omits (see Z. vol. 71, p. 316-2a, line 15).

193. The term t'ongsang 通相 t'ung-hsiang, or "common attribute," is much favored by Wŏnhyo in his interpretation of AFM. In East Asian Buddhist terminology t'ong means penetration by which all seemingly contradictory aspects are fused together. T'ongsang was crucial in Wŏnhyo's effort to harmonize all disputes among the various Buddhist schools. Wŏnhyo alone of the early commentators of AFM used the idea of penetration in explaining pu-hsiang-li 不相離, or the inseparability of the two aspects of Suchness and arising and ceasing. Later, Fa-tsang followed Wŏnhyo. For the opinions of the early commentators about pu-hsiang-li 不相離, see T'an-yen, Chi-hsin lun i-su (Z. vol. 71, p. 268-1b, line 11 and following); Hui-yüan, Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun i-su (T. 1843, vol. 44, p. 179c, line 6 - p. 180a, line 7); Fa-tsang, Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun i-chi (T. 1846, vol. 44, p. 251c, line 15 - p. 252a, line 13).

194. Here Wŏnhyo introduces the ideas of li 理, "principle," and shih 事, "phenomena," which later became very popular through Fa-tsang's commentary. See T. 1846, vol. 44, p.251c, line 28 - p. 252a, line 7. The inseparability of the two aspects may be diagrammed as follows:

Diagram of Inseparability of Two Aspects

二門不相離図

門 Aspects 時 When...	眞如門中 In the aspect of Suchness	生滅門中 In the aspect of arising and ceasing
When the two aspects are mutually exclusive 二門相乖時	principle alone is embraced; phenomena are not embraced 攝理而不攝事	only phenomena are embraced; principle is not embraced 攝事而不攝理
When the two aspects are fused with each other 二門相通時	both principle and phenomena are completely embraced 攝理而攝事	both principle and phenomena are completely embraced 攝事而攝理

195. Here follow four pairs of questions and answers. The first question was already raised by Wŏnhyo in his interpretation of the passage.

是心眞如相 即示摩訶衍體故

是心生滅因緣相 能示摩訶衍自體相故

See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 575c, lines 23-25 and T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 206b, lines 14-16.

196. Fa-tsang favored this answer, so he duplicated this pair of questions and answers in his commentary on AFM (T. 1846, vol. 44, p. 251c, line 24 and following). However, this answer itself necessitates a question: what is the difference between embracing the meaning (攝義) and showing the meaning (示義)? The term, she 攝, "embracing," has, in this context, very ontological

connotations while shih 示, "showing," is epistemological in intent. That is, the aspect of Suchness functions ontologically to embrace attributes, while the aspect of arising and ceasing functions epistemologically to show the essence. Thus, "embracing" and "showing" are used to show the difference between the two aspects. But Wŏnhyo warns that such an interpretation is very provisional; i.e., there is ultimately no such difference between the two. Therefore, they are inseparable from one another.

197. The author of AFM is quite theoretical when he maintains the difference between the two aspects. Wŏnhyo tries to go beyond this approach by drawing out the implications of t'ong 通, or penetration.

198. In Wŏnhyo's answer there appear several technical terms drawn from the two major Mahāyāna Buddhist schools of Wonhyo's time: Mādhyamika and Yogācāra. 分別性 and 依他性 are, respectively, Paramārtha's translation of parikalpita-svabhāva, or "differentiatedness" and paratantra-svabhāva, or "dependence." (T. 1593, vol. 31, p. 113b, line 24). The sentence, " 因緣之生 自他及共 皆不可得 ," which occurs in T. 1845, vol. 44, p. 227c, lines 15-16, is very similar to the third verse of the first chapter of Nāgārjuna's Madhyamakakārikā (T. 1564, vol. 30, p. 2b, lines 6-7).

199. Although this line does not occur in precisely this form in any of the three Chinese translations of the Mahāyānasaṃgraha-śāstra, a similar sentence, "此三種云何 與他為異為不異 非異非不異 應如此說," is found in Paramārtha's translation of the śāstra (T. 1593, vol. 31, p. 119c, lines 14-15).

200. The two natures which Wŏnhyo has been discussing are actually two of the three natures mentioned in the Mahāyānasaṃgraha-śāstra. Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang did not use the same Chinese term for each of the three natures (trisvabhāvas):

Sanskrit	Paramārtha (T. 1593)	Hsüan-tsang (T. 1594)	English
1. paratantra-svabhāva	依他性	依他起性	dependence
2. parikalpita-svabhāva	分別性	遍計所執性	differentiatedness
3. parinispanna-svabhāva	眞實性	圓成實性	perfectedness

See Francis Cook, Hua-yen Buddhism (University Park, Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), pp. 56-57.

201. Ta-p'in 大品 is the abbreviated title of the 摩訶般若波羅蜜経 in 27 rolls, translated by Kumārajīva. See T. 223, vol. 8, p. 217-424 and also note 53.

202. For information about Wŏnhyo's understanding of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, see notes 46 and 51.

203. This is good evidence for the commonly held view that Wŏnhyo regards the Lankāvatāra-sūtra as the basis of AFM. Wŏnhyo's views on the textual development of Mahāyāna scriptures are interesting to note (T. 1845, vol. 44, pp. 227c, line 25 - p. 228a, line 1):

First stage: Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā--sūtra, which devotes itself to the aspect of Suchness;

Second stage: Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and Avataṃsaka--sūtra, which dedicate themselves to the aspect of arising and ceasing;

Third stage: Lankāvatāra-sūtra and AFM, which emphasize the penetration of the two aspects.

204. The notion of Sui-yüan 隨緣, "transformed according to conditions," as well as its counterpart, Pu--pien 不變, "unchanging," was greatly developed by Tsung-mi (750-840), the fifth patriarch of the Chinese Hua-yen school. For a discussion of Sui-yüan 隨緣 and Pu-pien 不變, see Tsung-mi, Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü 禪源諸詮集都序 (T. 2015, vol. 48, pp. 397-413).

205. The term pu-huai 不壞, "not destroyed," occurs in T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576a, line 12 in the form "不可破壞."

206. "不動實際 建立諸法." Judging from the context, this sentence appears to be a quotation concluding Wŏnhyo's discussion of the aspect of Suchness. However, we cannot ascertain its location.

207. See T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576c, lines 13-14.

208. "不染而染 染而不染." This also looks like a quotation, concluding Wŏnhyo's discussion of the aspect of arising and ceasing. Again, we cannot ascertain its location.

209. According to Wŏnhyo's understanding of AFM, the whole of the third chapter is devoted to clarifying the meaning of pu-hsiang she-li 不相捨離, or the inseparability of the two aspects. Therefore, it may well be said that both aspects explain the meaning of non-emptiness. For the non-emptiness of the Suchness aspect, see T. 1666, vol. 32, p. 576b, lines 5-7.

210. See T. 223, vol. 8, p. 250b, lines 19-20.

211. See Roll 16 of Dharmakṣema's translation of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra in T. 374, vol. 12, p. 461c, lines 16-17.

212. Wŏnhyo's terms for the fifty-two stages (五十二位) of a Bodhisattva's career differ somewhat from the ordinary. Thus, he uses 十住 for 十地, or the tenth bhūmi and 十解 for 十住. However, this is common in old Buddhist texts. So, for example, Kumārajīva translated Daśabhūmika-sūtra as Shih-chu ching 十住経 and not as Shih-ti ching 十地経, as one might expect. See T. 286, vol. 10, pp. 497-535.

Appendix: Preface[1] to the Publication of the Korean Commentary[2] on *On Awakening Faith*

Of the commentaries which interpret *On Awakening Mahāyāna Faith*, three are traditionally considered to be masterpieces.[3] (Their authors,) Fa-tsang, Hui-yüan and Wǒnhyo are called the three masters of this treatise. Of these commentaries, the first two have already been in circulation for a long time. This (is because) the time and conditions (for their circulation) have long been ripe. But I had only heard of the existence of this (i.e., Wǒnhyo's) commentary; I still had not read it after many years had passed only (because) the time was not yet right (for its circulation). As the *Biography of (Eminent) Monks* reports, when Ch'eng-kuan of (Mt.) Ch'ing-liang was instructed by Fa-tsang in the meaning of the Korean commentary on *On Awakening Faith*, he said that this text is far superior to all others.[4] This fact should be known. In our (i.e., Japanese) commentaries (this text) is often quoted, but we had never seen the work in its entirety. Therefore, we had trouble in investigating the framework of its interpretations. Accordingly, every student in the field could not but regret (this fact).

Recently, a Mr. In told me that someone had given (him)

this silk edition and had given permission for it to be published and circulated. (Mr. In) wanted (me) to punctuate (it). He implored me very sincerely. Moreover, I regarded the right time (for its circulation) as having properly arrived. Since I was glad that this commentary had fallen into my hands, I accepted (this task) willingly. Immediately I read it with reverence and edited it. However, I am dull by nature (and) I do not have the capacity for doing my best. How dare I think profoundly? (Therefore,) I humbly beg that experts will--(and that would be) fortunate--make all the (necessary) corrections.

On an autumn day in the cyclical year Heishi (1696 A.D.) of Ryuhi, the ninth year of Genroku (Tokugawa Period, Japan).

Kakugen, of Chiseki's[5] school
in Rakuto.

Notes to Appendix

1. Kakugen's preface was written in 1696; only the Taisho edition has it. See T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202a.

2. Haedong 海東 literally means, "East of the sea." It was an early Chinese designation for Korea, because Korea is situated east of the Yellow Sea. There have been many commentaries written by Koreans, but Haedongso usually indicates Wǒnhyo's Taesǔng kishinnon so, proving, perhaps, that Wǒnhyo's commentary was the most popular Korean commentary ever written. Koreans and Japanese also like to use the designation 海東疏.

3. Shinko 振古 literally means "shaking the ancient." I have taken it to mean "from of old," following the definition given in Mathew's Chinese-English Dictionary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 39a.

4. Kakugen's quotation (T. 1844, vol. 44, p. 202a, lines 7-8) from the Kao-seng chuan is found in Tsan-ning's Kao-seng chuan (T. 2061, vol. 50, p. 737a, lines 12-13), but they are slightly different. T. 2061 omits the following nine characters: 個書高出于諸師上者, or "this text is far superior to all others."

5. There is no record about Kakugen, but Chiseki's school, to which Kakugen belonged, is one of the Shingon schools in Japan. See BDJ, Vol. 4, p. 2585c - p. 3587a.

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